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THE TRUTH ABOUT OPIUM

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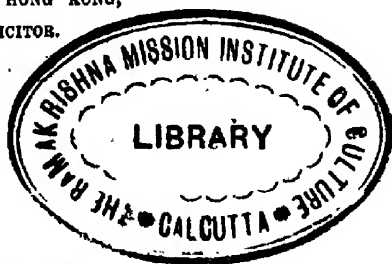
DELIVERED AT

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BY

WILLIAM H. BRERETON,

LATE OF HONG KONG,
SOLICITOR.



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Presented by Mrs. Bela Chakravarti

PREFACE.

THE following lectures were given in pursuance of a determination I came to some six years ago in Hong Kong, viz. that if I lived to return to England I should take some steps, either by public lectures or by the publication of a book, to expose the mischievous fallacies disseminated by the "Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade." About that time nearly every mail brought out newspapers to China containing reports of meetings held in England condemnatory of the Indo-China opium trade, at which resolutions were made containing the grossest mis-statements and exaggerations as to opium-smoking, and also the most unfounded charges against all parties engaged in the opium trade, showing clearly to my mind that not one of the speakers at those meetings really understood the subject he spoke about so fluently. I have now, happily, been able to carry out my intention. Unfortunately I was deprived of the opportunity of delivering these lectures in Exeter Hall, which was not only more central than St. James's Hall, but where I could have selected a more convenient

hour for the purpose than the only time the Secretary of the latter Company could place at my disposal, the reason being that the Committee of Exeter Hall refused to allow me its use for the purpose of refuting the false and untenable allegations of the Anti-Opium Society, an act of intolerance which I think I am justified in exposing. I trust, however, that any drawback on this account will be compensated for by the publication of the lectures. I am well aware that this volume has many imperfections, but there is one respect in which I cannot reproach myself with having erred, and that is, in having overstepped the bounds of truth. I have the satisfaction of knowing that all I have stated in the lectures is substantially true and correct, and with such a consciousness I entertain a confident hope that they will prove in a humble way instrumental towards breaking up the Anti-Opium confederacy, the objects of which are as undeserving of support as they have proved mischievous in their tendency.

CONTENTS.

LECTURE I.

Objects of the Lectures.—Lectures based upon principle and not upon grounds of expediency.—Lecturer's knowledge of the Opium question derived from actual acquaintance with the facts, acquired during nearly fifteen years' residence in Hong Kong.—Opium-smoking as practised by the Chinese perfectly innocuous, beneficial rather than injurious.—Charges made by the Anti-Opium Society and its supporters false and unfounded.—Alleged knowledge of the members and supporters of the Anti-Opium Society founded on hearsay evidence of the worst and most untrustworthy character.—Lecturer not acting in the interests of the British merchants in China, nor of any other party or person.—Actuated only by a desire to dispel the false and mischievous delusions spread abroad in England by the Anti-Opium Society.—British and other foreign residents in China hold opposite views to those disseminated by the Anti-Opium people.—British merchants as a body have no interest in the trade.—China a great Empire as large as Europe, with a much greater population.—Country and people of China described.—Impossible to demoralize and debase such a people.—Opium-smoking a general custom throughout the eighteen provinces of China.—Reasons for the prolonged existence of the Anti-Opium Society.—False charges of the Anti-Opium Society respecting the Indo-China Opium trade more fully formulated.—If half those charges were true the British residents in China would be the first to raise their voices against the Opium trade.—Official Yellow Book published by Mr. Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, negatives the allegations of the members of the Anti-Opium Society and the Missionaries.—Allegations of the Anti-Opium Society that British trade with China has suffered from the alleged forcing of Opium upon China untrue.—Friendly relations between the British merchants in China and the Chinese people.—Englishmen more esteemed by the Chinese than any other nation.—Hong Kong described.—Government of China described.—Hong Kong the headquarters of the Indo-China Opium trade, Chinese residing there have

better means of procuring the drug than elsewhere—no sufferers from Opium-smoking found there.—Exposure by Dr. Ayres, the Colonial Surgeon of Hong Kong, of the fallacy that Opium-smoking, although indulged in for years, cannot be dropped without injury to the system.—Fallacy of comparing the Chinese with the savages of Central Africa by the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society exposed.—Archdeacon Gray, a resident for twenty years at Canton, silent, in his recent work on China and her people, as to the alleged iniquity of the Indo-China Opium Trade.—Character of the Chinese as described by various authors.—Chinese a frugal and abstemious people.—Opium-smoking less injurious than tobacco.—Charges of the Anti-Opium Society based upon fallacies and false assumptions.—Alleged objections of the Chinese to receive the Gospel on account of the Indo-China Opium trade the merest subterfuge, and utterly absurd and untenable.

Pages 1-52.

LECTURE II.

Hearsay testimony upon which charges of the Anti-Opium Society founded explained.—Chinese a polite people and treat Missionaries courteously, but despise Christianity, and will not tell Missionaries the truth about Opium.—Respectable Chinese would become an object of scorn and disgrace to their fellow countrymen if they embraced Christianity.—Professing Chinese Christians in most cases impostors.—Heathen Chinese as a rule more trustworthy than so-called Christian converts.—Missionary clergymen in China have not the confidence of the Chinese people, and draw their information as to Opium-smoking from polluted sources.—Difference between Missionary clergymen in China and the clergymen of all denominations in England as regards knowledge of the people they live amongst.—Missionaries in China wholly responsible for the imposture prevailing in England as to Opium-smoking in China.—Although the Chinese are a spirit-drinking people, they never drink to excess.—Drunkenness unknown amongst Chinese.—Chinese-American treaty a sham as regards Opium.—Mr. J. H. Pease, M.P., duped by the "bogus" clause as to Opium.—His speech on the Opium question in 1881.—Chinese smoke Opium wherever they go.—As much Opium imported into China now as before the sham treaty.—Opium a luxury which only the well-to-do can freely indulge in.—Explanation of the means by which unfounded statements respecting Opium are propagated.—Apologue by way of example.—Proof of the state of things explained by the apologue furnished by the Rev. Storrs Turner and Dr. Ayres.—First fallacy, that Opium-smoking in China is now and always has been confined to

a small per-centage of the population, but which, owing to the importation into the country of Indian Opium, is rapidly increasing, refuted and the truth fully stated Pages 53-98

LECTURE III.

Second and fourth fallacies upon which the members of the Anti-Opium Society and its supporters are misled.—Opium-eating and Opium-smoking contrasted with spirit-drinking.—Valuable curative properties of Opium.—Spirit-drinking produces organic and incurable diseases, is a fruitful cause of insanity, and leads to ruin and destruction.—The like effects admittedly not due to Opium.—Opium-eating and Opium-smoking totally distinct.—Whatever the effects of Opium-eating, Opium-smoking perfectly innocuous. — Anti-Opium advocates cunningly try to mix the two together.—Disingenuous conduct in this respect of the Rev. Storrs Turner.—Mr. Turner so great an enthusiast as not to be able to see the difference.—Testimony of Dr. Eatwell as to the use of Opium.—Difference between Opium-eating and Opium-smoking explained in the case of tobacco-smoking.—Tobacco taken internally a deadly poison, harmless when smoked.—Medical testimony as to the poisonous quality of tobacco and its alkaloid, nicotine.—Opium a valuable medicine, without any known substitute.—Anti-Tobacco Smoking Society, once formed the same as the Anti-Opium Society, put down by the common sense of the community, the like fate awaits the Anti-Opium Society.—Testimony of Dr. Sir George Birdwood, Surgeon-General Moore, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Dr. Ayres, and W. Brend, M.R.C.S., as to Opium.—Small quantity of Indian Opium imported into China.—Enormous amount of spirits consumed in the United Kingdom.—Anti-Opium Society blind to the latter, energetic as to the former a purely sentimental grievance.—Fallacy of Anti-Opium Society that supply creates demand refuted and exposed.—Remaining fallacies refuted.—Effects of suppression of Indo-China Opium Trade.—Missionaries detested in China.—Indian Opium welcomed.—Saying of Prince Kung.—Treaty of Tientsin explained.—Abused by Missionaries, yet the treaty the Missionaries only charter.—Testimony of H. N. Lay, Esq., Secretary to the Commission for drawing up the Treaty.—Policy of the Indian Government as regards Opium wisest and best.—Alleged proposal of Lord Lawrence to alter that policy.—Fallacy involved in such proposal exposed.—Abrogation of Indo-Opium Trade injurious if not destructive to the spread of the Gospel in China.—Benevolence of the British public.—Necessity for seeing that it is not diverted into worthless

channels.—Anti-Opium Society mischievous, presenting a melancholy record of energies wasted, talents misapplied, wealth uselessly squandered, charity perverted, and philanthropy run mad.—Society should be dissolved and its funds transferred to Missionaries.—Missionaries should not mix up Christianity and Opium.—Missionaries defended and encouraged. . . . Pages 99-161

APPENDICES.

- Yellow Book published by order of Robert Hart, Esq., the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs.—Amount of Opium produced in China believed to be equal to the Indian Opium imported into China.—Indian Opium estimated to supply in moderation one-third of one per cent. of the entire population of China (300,000,000).—Native Opium known, produced, and used in China long before any Europeans began the sale of the drug along the coasts.—Number of habitual Opium-smokers in China estimated at 2,000,000 only.—Neither the finances of the state, nor the wealth of the people, nor the growth of its population can be specially damaged by the luxury.—Official returns of the Sub-Commissioners at the various Treaty Ports in China. Pages 165-225
- Paper of W. Brend, M.R.C.S., on Effects of Opium and Spirits. Pages 226-229
- Paper of Dr. Sir George Birdwood . . . Pages 230-248
- Part 5 of Vol. II. of *Annals of Chemical Medicine*, by J. L. W. Thudichum, M.D. . . . Pages 249-271
- Paper contributed by Dr. Ayres, Colonial-Surgeon and Superintendent of Hospitals of Hong Kong, to the *Friend of China* . Pages 273-275
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THE TRUTH ABOUT OPIUM.

LECTURE I.

THE object of these lectures is to tell you what I know about opium smoking in China—a very important subject, involving the retention or loss of more than seven millions sterling to the revenue of India, and, what is far more precious, the character and reputation of this great country. With respect to the former, I would simply remark that I do not intend to deal with the question on the grounds of expediency, for, if I believed that one-half of what is stated by the "*Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade*" were true, I should be the first to raise my humble voice against the traffic, even though it involved the loss, not of seven millions sterling, but of seventy times seven. But it is because I believe all the grave charges made by that Society, and repeated from day to day by its supporters, against the Government of India and against the Government of this country, and also against the British merchants in China, to be totally unfounded—mere shadowy figments, phantasies, and delusions—that I come forward to draw aside the

curtain, and show that behind these charges there is no substance. Were my experience derived merely from books and pamphlets, articles in the newspapers, and ordinary gossip, I would not presume to trespass upon your time and attention, because in that respect you have at your disposal the same means of information as I have myself. But I come before you having had considerable personal experience, and special knowledge of the realities of opium smoking in China, having lived and practised as a solicitor for nearly fifteen years in Hong Kong, where I had daily experience, not only of the customs of opium smoking, but also of the trade in opium in both its crude and prepared state. I had there the honour of being solicitor to the leading British and other foreign firms, also to the Chinese, from the wealthy merchant to the humble coolie; so that during the whole of that period down to the present time I have had a large practice and intimate relations with foreigners and natives. Under these circumstances I had daily intercourse with the people from whom the best and most trustworthy information on the subject of opium can be obtained, and my experience is that opium smoking, as practised by the Chinese, is perfectly innocuous.

I may now at the outset assure you that I do not give expression to my views in the interests of the merchants of China, whether native or foreign, or on behalf of any party whatever; nor do I come before you with any personal object, because I have

no pecuniary or personal concern in the opium question. I simply believe that an unfounded delusion has taken possession of the public mind, and that it has had most mischievous results. These I wish to dispel, if I can.

I am aware of no subject, involving nothing but simple matters of fact, and outside the region of party politics, upon which so much controversy has been expended and about which such widely different opinions are prevalent as the opium question. On the one side, and that appears to be the party having the most believers, it is said that, for selfish purposes, we are forcing opium upon the people of China; that the Indian Government, with the acquiescence and support of the Imperial Government, cultivates the drug for the purpose of adding seven or eight millions sterling to its revenue, and, with full knowledge of its alleged baneful consequences upon the natives of China, exports it to that country. Moreover, a further charge is brought against the British merchants, that they participate in this trade for gain, or, as it is put by the Rev. Storrs Turner, the energetic Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, to enable those merchants to make "princely fortunes." That is the favourite expression of Mr. Turner, who finds, no doubt, that it takes with some sections of the public, who are often readier to believe evil of their own countrymen than of the people of other countries. The Anti-Opium Society and its supporters assert that it is an incontestable fact that opium smoking is fatal, not only to the body but to

the soul; meaning, I suppose, that the custom is destructive to the physical, and demoralizing to the moral nature of its votaries, and that the opium traffic is regarded by the people of China with such horror that it prevents the natives receiving the Gospel from those who help to supply them with this drug, viz., the British people. It is openly said that the use of opium demoralizes the Chinese, that it is ruining and sapping the manhood of the whole Chinese nation, with a host of concomitant evils, to which I shall by-and-by refer more particularly, the whole involving the utmost turpitude, the greatest guilt and the worst depravity on the part of England and the English Government, and still more especially on that of the Indian Government and the British merchants in China. They, that is the missionaries and the Anti-Opium Society and its supporters, say, that opium smoking is of comparatively recent origin in China; and although they do not directly allege that we have introduced the practice, there is throughout all their writings and speeches a fond desire, a pleasing hope that the readers or hearers of their books and speeches will form that opinion. I should tell you that those who hold directly contrary opinions, consist of all the British residents in China, with the exception of the missionaries (of whom I desire to speak with respect), comprising the British merchants, their numerous assistants (an educated and most intelligent body), professional men, and not only British people of all classes, but also all the other foreign merchants and residents, German,

American, and others, for there are all nationalities in China, who with the British form one harmonious community.

Take all these men of different nationalities and persuasions, and I venture to say that you will not find one per cent. of them who will not tell you that the views put forward by the Anti-Opium Society are utterly preposterous, false and artificial—who will not declare that opium smoking in China is a harmless if not an absolutely beneficial practice; that it produces no decadence in mind or body, and that the allegations as to its demoralizing effects are simply ridiculous. Those who have taken a special interest in the subject know that the custom is universal throughout China, and that it has probably been so for more than a thousand years;* that it is not confined to a few, but that it is a general practice amongst at least the adult male population; limited, in fact, only by the means of procuring the drug. That is my experience; it is corroborated by others, and therefore I assert it as a fact.

China, for its extent, and considering its vast and industrious population, is a very poor country. It is only well-to-do persons who can afford to smoke opium. Opium smoking is, in fact, a relaxation, a luxury which, however, any one who can afford it indulges, just as the people of England who have sufficient means drink tea, wine and beer, or smoke

* This is no random assertion. In a poem published in the eleventh century, I am told reference is made to the practice of the use of opium being prevalent throughout the country.

tobacco. Now, why is this belief as to the general use of opium by the natives so prevalent amongst the foreign residents in China? Because they daily mix with the Chinese, know their ways, hear them talk, sell to them, and buy from them, and being aware of the controversy going on here about opium, and the strenuous efforts that are being made in this country to prevent the Indian Government from allowing opium to be grown and imported into China, they naturally take a greater interest in the subject than they otherwise might. They, I say, being on the ground and knowing the very people who smoke opium and who have smoked it for years, have irresistibly come to this conclusion.

For myself, I may say that I have taken a very great interest in the subject, particularly during the past five or six years. I have tried and tried in vain to find out those pitiable victims of opium smoking who have been so much spoken of in books, in newspapers, and on public platforms. I have gone through the most populous parts of Hong Kong, which is a large city, having about 150,000 Chinese inhabitants—in both the wealthiest and poorest quarters. I have had in my office, day after day, Chinese of all classes, seeing them, speaking to them, and I have never found amongst them any of these miserable victims to opium smoking. Now, Hong Kong may be said to be, and is, in fact, the headquarters in China of the opium trade. It is there that all the opium coming from India and Persia is first brought. It is, in fact, the entrepôt or dépôt from

which all other parts of China are supplied with the drug. Furthermore, it is the port whence "prepared opium," the condition in which the drug is smoked, is mostly exported to the Chinese in all other parts of the world, for wherever he goes, the Chinaman, if he can afford it, must have his opium pipe. Moreover, the Chinese of Hong Kong get much better wages and make larger profits in their trades and businesses than they could procure in their own country; and can, therefore, better afford to enjoy the luxury of the pipe. So that if opium smoking produced the evil consequences alleged, Hong Kong is unquestionably the place where those consequences would be found in their fullest force. They are not to be found there in the slightest degree. The Government of Hong Kong, for the purposes of revenue, has farmed out the privilege or monopoly of preparing this opium and selling it within the colony, and I dare say you will be surprised to hear that the amount paid by the present opium monopolist for the privilege amounts to about £40,000 sterling a year. Now, I have been the professional adviser of the opium farmer for at least ten years, and from him and his assistants I have had excellent opportunities of learning the truth about opium. I have thus been able to get behind the scenes and so have had such opportunities of acquainting myself with the subject as few other Europeans have possessed. I knew the late opium farmer, whom I might call a personal friend, intimately from the time of my first arrival in China. When I call him the opium farmer I

mean the ostensible one, for the opium monopoly has always, in fact, been held by a syndicate. My friend was the principal in whose name the license was made out, and who dealt with the opium merchants, carried on all arrangements with the Government, and chiefly managed the prepared opium business. I knew him so intimately and had so many professional dealings with him, irrespective of opium, that I had constant opportunities of becoming acquainted with all the mysteries of the prepared opium trade. Now the conclusions to which my own personal experience has led me I have told you of before, and I have never met any one whose experience differed from mine. I have tried to find the victims of the dreadful drug, but I have never yet succeeded. Many people in this country, I dare say, think that if they went to Hong Kong they would see swarms of wretched creatures, wan and wasted, leaning on crutches, the victims of opium smoking. If they went to the colony they would then be greatly disappointed, for no such people are to be met with. On the contrary, all the Chinese they would meet are strong, healthy, intelligent-looking people, and, mark my words, well able to take care of themselves. I don't suppose there were five per cent. of my Chinese clients who did not, to a greater or less extent, smoke opium. I have known numbers, certainly not less than five hundred persons in all, who have smoked opium from their earliest days—young men, middle-aged men, and men of advanced years, who have been opium smokers all their lives, some of them probably

excessive smokers, but I have never observed any symptoms of decay in one of them. I recall to mind one old man in particular, whom I remember for fifteen years; he is now, I believe, alive and well; when I last saw him, about fifteen months ago, he was looking as well and as strong as he was ten years before. He is not only in good bodily health, but of most extraordinary intellectual vigour, one of the most crafty old gentlemen, indeed, that I have ever met; no keener man of business you could find, or one who would try harder to get the better of you if he could. The only signs of opium smoking about him are his discoloured teeth, by which an excessive smoker can always be detected, for immoderate opium smoking has, although in a less degree, the same effect as a similar use of tobacco, which, as I shall by-and-by endeavour to prove, is the more injurious practice of the two. The Chinese, as a rule, have extremely white teeth—the effect, perhaps, of their simple diet and their generally abstemious habits. They are proud of their teeth, which they brush two or three times a day. This old gentleman, like many others of his countrymen, will settle himself down of an evening, when the business of the day is over, and enjoy his opium pipe for two or three hours at a stretch, yet, notwithstanding this terrible excess according to the views of the Anti-Opium Society, he continues strong and well. I have known many more like him, but have never seen or heard of any weakness or decay arising from the practice. Now, I have told you that the British

merchants in China hold the same views as I do upon the opium question. But it may be said that the merchants are interested persons, and in point of fact this is said by the Rev. Storrs Turner, in his book on the opium traffic, published in 1876,* wherein it is maintained that British merchants are making princely fortunes by the opium trade. And, of course, the inference follows that they are interested in its preservation, and that consequently what they allege or think on the subject should not have any weight, because they are the very persons in whose interest this so-called iniquitous traffic is being carried on, and that of course they would not say anything likely to dry up their fountain of profit. I only wish for the sake of my fellow-countrymen that all these declarations about princely fortunes were true. Hills look green afar off, but when you approach them they are often found as arid as the desert; and, unfortunately, like Macbeth's air-drawn dagger, these splendid visions are not "sensible to feeling as to sight," but simply *princely fortunes* of the mind "proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain." Mr. Turner mentions in his book one eminent firm in particular, the oldest and probably the greatest in China or the far East, a firm that is respected throughout the whole mercantile world, which he stigmatizes as "opium merchants," who, of course, are making the imaginary "princely fortune" by opium. Now if that gentleman had taken the least trouble to inquire before he launched his book upon the world, he would have

* "British Opium Policy, and its Results to India and China."

found that the firm he referred to in these terms had had nothing to do with opium for at least twenty years. That is not, perhaps, a matter of much importance. If he had taken the trouble to make further inquiry, he could have had no difficulty in ascertaining, what I tell you now is a fact, and one within my own personal knowledge, that the only merchants in China who are making large profits out of opium are just two or three firms, who, by the undulations and fluctuations inseparable to commerce, have got the bulk of the trade into their hands, and that all the other British merchants throughout China, and all the foreign merchants, Germans, Americans, and others, really have little or nothing to do with the opium trade at all. Of course, merchants now and then will have to execute orders for opium for a constituent who may write for a chest or two of the drug, but that is only in the course of business, and is not attended with any profit to speak of. And I am perfectly sure that if it were possible to put a stop to this opium traffic, which is said to be the source of so much profit to many, that, saving the two or three firms I have mentioned, the suppression of the trade would make no difference whatever to the other firms. On the other hand, do not let it be thought, as I believe has been said by some enthusiasts, that it is owing to the British merchants in China having discovered that opium is an unclean thing and to their having washed their hands of all participation in the traffic, that the trade has fallen into the hands of a few, who of course would, by

parity of reasoning, be set down as very unscrupulous people. That is a fallacy, and, what is more, it is an untruth. I do not believe there is a British firm in China, or a firm of any other nationality, which would not, if the opportunity presented itself, become to-morrow "opium merchants," as Mr. Turner expresses it, if they thought the trade would prove a source of profit, because they hold, and I hold, with the knowledge that they and I possess, that the opium traffic is a perfectly proper and legitimate one, quite as much so as trade in tobacco, wine, or beer; and a thousand times less objectionable than the trade in ardent spirits.

Before proceeding further, it is very important that I should bring to your notice some particulars about China and its people. The public here are very apt to think of China as if it were a country like Italy, France, or England. They never dream for a moment of the immense Empire that China actually is. Perhaps if they did, and could take in the whole situation, they would be slower to believe the extraordinary stories which are spread abroad about our *forcing* opium upon the Chinese, and, by so doing, demoralizing the nation. We forget, as we grow old, much that we have learned in our youth, especially geography, and I dare say many a schoolboy could enlighten myself and others on that particular branch of education. China, it must be remembered, is a country which cannot be compared with France, Spain, or England, for it is a vast empire, as large as Europe, with a population some

fifty or sixty millions greater. Now, what an astounding feat to be able to storm, as it were, that enormous empire, and for a handful of British merchants to succeed in forcing opium upon, and, by doing so, to debase the whole of this wonderful people. Yet this is what is alleged by the anti-opium philanthropists and by Mr. Storrs Turner, who is their great champion, and so his enthusiastic disciples believe, to whom I would merely say,—“Great is thy faith.” These plain facts are never brought to notice by the anti-opium people. The public are addressed and pleas are put forward for support on the ground that we are dealing with a primitive and uncivilized nation. It must also be borne in mind that the Empire of China comprises eighteen provinces, quite large enough to form eighteen separate kingdoms. I am speaking now of China Proper, and am leaving out Mongolia, an immense country to the north of China, and also the vast possessions in Thibet and Central Asia, both forming part of that great Empire. Many of these eighteen provinces are larger than Great Britain; one of them is as large as France. Although there is in one sense a language common to the whole country, yet not only has each province a dialect of its own, different from that of the others, but has, so to speak, innumerable sub-dialects. Dialect, perhaps, is hardly the correct word; it is more than a dialect, for not only each province, but each district or county, has a dialect, differing so essentially from each other that the people of one province, or one district, can no more make themselves understood by

those of another than a Frenchman could make himself intelligible to an Englishman, if neither knew the language of the other. You will often find people living in villages not more than fifteen or twenty miles apart who cannot converse with one another. I have seen in my own office a man belonging to the province of Kwang-tung, in the south of China, unable to speak in Chinese to a native of the adjoining province of Fuh-kien. In this case the native villages of these two were not more than ten miles apart, and the only medium of conversation was the barbarous jargon in which Europeans and Chinese carry on their dealings, called "pidgin English" — a species of broken English of the most ridiculous kind. Now, when you take into account that each province differs in language from each other, for that is really what the case practically comes to, that they have separate dialects in each province, and also, to a certain extent, different customs and certain prejudices, I ask you, does it not appear a gigantic, if not an impossible, task for England, a small and distant country, to be able to demoralize, debase, and corrupt the people of each of these eighteen provinces? Yet that is really the allegation of the Anti-Opium Society against their own country, this small and distant England!

I have said that there are customs peculiar to each of these provinces, but there are others common to all; one of them is opium smoking; another, I am sorry to say, is hatred and contempt

of foreigners. They one and all agree in regarding foreigners as an inferior race, whose customs, language, and religion they despise. Among the common people every foreigner, of whatsoever nationality, is called Fan-Qui, or "foreign devil." The designation of foreigners amongst the better classes of people, is "outer barbarian." No better instance could I give you than this to show the strong prejudice held by the whole nation against foreigners. "Fan-Qui" is still the term used by the lower orders to denote foreigners, even in Hong Kong. To remedy this state of things, at the time of the making of the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 (which is the existing treaty between the two nations), Lord Elgin, the author of the treaty, had a stipulation inserted that the term "outer barbarian" should no longer be applied to British subjects. Now, when you take into account that not only are these 360,000,000 of people spread over an enormous empire, having a prejudice common to all alike against foreigners, as well as their own prejudices against each other, forming eighteen separate provinces or kingdoms, speaking different languages, is it reasonable to suppose that they would, so to speak, simultaneously adopt the practice of opium smoking when introduced by the despised foreigner? If these people still despise our customs, as they do our religion, as they do everything, in fact, belonging to us, how can it be said that we are forcing this foreign drug upon them to their destruction? I have said that the custom of opium smoking is common to

all the people of these eighteen provinces. Whether they live in the valleys or on the hills they smoke opium. Now Mr. Turner is a great enemy of opium smoking; he is its determined opponent, and I do not think I wrong him—I certainly do not mean to do so—when I describe him as a person strongly prejudiced against the practice. The best, the wisest, and ablest among us have prejudices, and it is casting no stigma upon that gentleman to say that he has his. When people have those strong prepossessions it is also admitted that they are prone not to judge facts fairly; they see things through a false medium. That which to an ordinary person appears plain and clear enough, to one under the influence of prejudice stands out in different colours, and is passed over as untrue or misleading; sometimes, however, the plain truth will leak out, in spite of prejudice. It is laid down by some of our legal text writers that truth is natural to the human mind, and that the first impulse of a man if interrogated upon a point is to tell the truth, and that it is only when he has had time to consider, that he is inclined to vary or colour it. Now in this book of Mr. Turner's he confirms my statement. This is what he says at page 13. I need not read to you the previous part, because the context does not alter the sense of my quotation. He is arguing against the allegation of 'pro-opium people that opium has a beneficial result in counteracting the effects of malaria and ague, and he says:—"These curious arguments are two. First, that the universal predilection of the Chinese for

opium is owing to the malarious character of the country ; secondly, that the use of opium is a wholesome corrective to the unwholesome, even putrid, food which the Chinese consume. The reply to the first is that the country over which opium is smoked is in area about the size of Europe, and includes, perhaps, an equal variety of sites, soils, and climates, great plains level as our own fen district, and mountainous regions like the Highlands of Scotland. Ague is almost unknown in many of the provinces—*yet everywhere, in all climates and all soils, in every variety of condition and circumstance throughout that vast empire, the Chinese smoke opium.*” Now that is the testimony of the Rev. Storrs Turner, the most strenuous and, as I believe, the ablest advocate against the Indo-China opium trade. But then he adds—“But nowhere do they all smoke opium. The smokers are but a percentage greater or smaller in any place.” Well, nobody ever said they all did smoke opium. Females, as a rule, do not smoke, and children don’t smoke. It is only the grown men, and those who can afford to buy the drug, who smoke it. They are the people who make up Mr. Turner’s percentage. Yet in the face of that most damaging admission, Mr. Storrs Turner and his disciples would have the British public believe that by supplying the Chinese with a small quantity of opium which is used in every province, district and village of China, we are demoralizing and degrading the whole people. Now, if this practice of opium smoking has existed, and does exist, throughout these eighteen provinces, over this large and

mighty empire, can it be urged for one moment that England has had anything to do with it more than that Englishmen have imported for the last forty or forty-five years a quantity of the drug very much less than that actually grown in China itself. I say she has not. I say that opium smoking has existed, as I have already mentioned, for a thousand years or more, and that its use by the natives of China is simply limited by the extent of their purchasing power. But how is it that such a divergent opinion can exist between Englishmen living in China and Englishmen here at home? My answer is:—That the former, the English residents in China, derive their knowledge on the subject from actual experience formed from personal contact with the natives, from seeing with their own eyes, and hearing with their own ears; whilst people in England obtain their information from hearsay only, and, as I shall show you by-and-by, from hearsay evidence of the worst and most unreliable kind. But still the question remains why this should be so; why is it that among the educated and intelligent people of England, in an age when newspapers are universal, when the circumnavigation of the globe is as easily effected as travelling through France was thirty or forty years ago, such an extraordinary difference of opinion should exist? I will now give you the explanation of these opposite views.

The first is this:—China is ten thousand miles away. If that country were as near to us as the

Continent, to which it is equal in extent, the people of England would be of the same mind as their countrymen in China. The field of the imposture would then be so close to us that it would be seen through at once. If it were sought to prove that we were corrupting and demoralizing the whole of the natives of the Continent by selling them spirits, beer, or opium, the persons who attempted to do so would be scoffed at as visionaries, if not downright fools; yet the parallel is complete. Indeed, taking the existing prejudices among the Chinese against foreigners into account, there should be less difficulty in effecting such wonderful objects in Europe than in China.

The second is this:—There is that powerful association in England, "*The Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade*," whose sole object is to attain the end which its name imports, that is, the abolition of the Indo-China opium trade, on the alleged grounds that it is demoralizing and ruining the natives of China. That Society is supported by some of the most influential people in England—noblemen, archbishops, and other dignitaries of the Church, clergymen of all denominations, people justly and deservedly commanding the respect of the entire community—but who, on this opium question, simply know little or nothing, who implicitly believe all that is told to them by the agents of that Society, but otherwise have no knowledge of the facts. When you take into account that this body has immense funds at its command, that it has the support of

a large part of what is known as the "religious world," and that the Society has branches and agencies ramified throughout the whole country, the reader will not fail to perceive how this extraordinary hallucination, these strange delusions, these wild chimeras respecting opium smoking, have got possession of the public mind. In former times we have had societies got up for the purpose of carrying out great public objects and of disseminating knowledge necessary for the country to comprehend those objects; but you will find that for the most part these societies have dealt with acknowledged and existing facts. For instance, there was the "Anti-Corn Law League." The purposes of that league were understood by every one; the main facts were admitted because they existed here in England and were patent to all. It was only a matter of opinion between two great political parties whether they should be dealt with in one particular way or not. That league was formed for a great national object; but the Anti-Opium Society of which I am speaking has been got up to carry out the opinions of a few individuals, most respectable, I admit, but at the same time most enthusiastic—I had almost said fanatical—holding false views upon a subject with which they are most imperfectly acquainted. Meantime, this Society, through its ubiquitous and indefatigable Secretary, the Rev. Storrs Turner, and its other agents, is for ever on the alert. Let any gentleman who has had experience of opium smoking, whether in India or China, write to the newspapers; let him read a paper at a meeting of

any of our scientific bodies disputing the alleged facts of the opium-phobists, and he is marked out as a prey. Sir Rutherford Alcock, whose high character, thorough knowledge of China, and great ability are well known, recently read an able and interesting paper on the opium question before the Society of Arts. It was listened to by many scientific gentlemen and others. Sir Rutherford Alcock knows the truth about opium, and he told it in his paper. The Rev. Storrs Turner was there; he knew the damaging revelations which Sir Rutherford Alcock had made, and so much afraid was he of the effects of the fusillade, that to rally his dismayed followers he improvised a meeting of his devoted disciples two or three days afterwards at the Aquarium. I venture to say, there was not a pro-opium advocate present at his meeting. I do not think the meeting was ever advertised—I certainly saw no advertisement of it in the newspapers—and Mr. Turner exhorted his followers to hold fast to the true faith, refuting in the way no doubt most satisfactory to his audience the facts, figures, and arguments of Sir Rutherford. So it is with articles and letters in the newspapers. Many well-informed gentlemen on the opium question have published letters in the papers dealing with this question on the pro-opium side; whereupon Mr. Turner and other anti-opium advocates at once pounce down upon them, and repeat the same old story about demoralization and what not. All these anti-opium articles and speeches are based upon the same model. They assume certain statements as existing and acknowledged facts which

have never been proved to be such, and then proceed to draw deductions from those alleged facts. This style of argument places those who hold contrary views at a disadvantage. The English people have hitherto had little or no knowledge of the opium question, save what they hear through the Anti-Opium Society, whose teaching they believe, especially when those people are clergymen and others of high character, as they unquestionably are. And here I may observe that, supposing the pro-opium advocates had a counter society to disseminate their opinions, that they had command of ample funds, and had officers to carry out their views, this Anglo-Oriental Society would be strangled in three months; for fiction, however speciously represented, cannot hold its own against fact. There is an old saying that "what is everybody's business is nobody's business," and so it is with the pro-opium side of the question.

The foreign merchants in China, as a body, have no interest in the Indo-China opium trade. They do not care if the trade were to be suppressed to-morrow, and therefore they take no active part in opposing the Anti-Opium Society. The general public also take little or no interest in the matter, and it is really only those actuated by a sense of duty, or who, like myself, understand the question from practical acquaintance and take more than a usual interest in the subject, who think of refuting the monstrous and unfounded allegations of the anti-opium people. Therefore it is that the other side have had practi-

cally the whole field to themselves. Upon the like conditions any imposture could for a time be successfully carried on.

I have before touched slightly upon the charges brought against the British Government and the British nation respecting opium. I will formulate them more particularly now; as the subject cannot be thoroughly understood unless I do so. I have read Mr. Storrs Turner's book carefully; I have read speeches delivered in Manchester, Leeds, and London on the subject, and they all come to the same thing—each is a repetition of the others. As I understand the matter, this is what the charges of the Anti-Opium Society amount to. It is alleged that opium smoking, once commenced, cannot be laid aside, that it poisons the blood, reduces the nervous and muscular powers, so that strong men under the use of opium speedily become debilitated and unfit for labour; that opium smoking paralyzes the mind as well as the body, and produces imbecility, or at least mental weakness; that it so demoralizes the people using it, that it turns honest and industrious men from being useful members of society into lazy, dishonest scoundrels; that it saps the manhood and preys like a cankerworm upon the vitals of the Chinese people, injuring the commonwealth and threatening even the existence of the nation if the custom of opium smoking be not stopped, which, it is alleged, can be effected only by the supply of opium from India being discontinued. It is urged, in fact, that the sale of Indian opium to the Chinese is

a crime not only against the people of China but against humanity; that much, if not all, of the misery and crime prevalent throughout China are due, either directly or indirectly, to the use of opium; and for all these fearful results England is held responsible. It is further said, that the sale of British opium to the Chinese interferes with legitimate commerce, creating, it is alleged, so much bitterness in the Chinese mind against the English nation, that the Chinese refuse to buy our goods. And, above all, it is contended that the Indo-China opium trade impedes the progress of Christianity, the Chinese refusing to accept the Gospel from a people who have such crimes to answer for as the introduction of Indian opium into China. Since the days of Judge Jeffreys never was there such a terrible indictment, nor one so utterly unfounded as happily it is. In fact, all the objections that in old times were made against negro slavery have been brought forward against this harmless and perfectly justifiable Indo-China opium trade. Well, I had always thought that the Government of India, for the past sixty years at least, had been actuated by one great and prominent object, the amelioration, the happiness, and prosperity of the teeming millions committed to its care, and I think so still. I have always believed that the Imperial Government, no matter which party was from time to time in power, had the prosperity, honour, and dignity of their country at heart, and were influenced by a sincere desire towards all the world to be just and fear not, and to diffuse as much happiness as possible

amongst our own people, and all other nations and races with whom we became associated all the world over, and I remain of that opinion still. Nearly fifty years ago we washed the stain of slavery from our hands, performing that great act of justice from a pure sense of duty, and without any outside pressure, and also without shedding a drop of blood. We know that, thirty years later, a similar achievement cost a kindred nation a long and bloody war, and an aggregate money expenditure far exceeding our own national debt, the growth of centuries. That feat of ours showed what the mind and heart of this great nation then were, and I do not believe that we have since degenerated. Since then we have spent millions of money in sweeping slavery from the seas and in endeavouring to put an end to that accursed evil throughout the world. In doing this our pecuniary loss has been the least of our sacrifices. We have lost more than money. We have lost the lives of some of the best and noblest of England's sons. These are acts worthy of a great nation; compared with them the objects of the Anti-Opium Society sink into utter insignificance. Could the sublime and the ridiculous be brought more vividly face to face?

For the last fifty years there has been one feeling predominant in the minds of the people of England, and that is a manly, generous anxiety to protect the weak against the strong all over the world. Yet these foul and untenable charges against England are now spread broadcast by this Society, whose

only warrant for doing so are the statements made to them by a handful of fanatical missionary clergymen, whose views are accepted as so much dogma which it would be heresy to doubt. Why, if we were guilty of but half the wickedness attributed to us, it would not require this Anti-Opium Society to cry it down; the nation would rise as one man to crush it for ever. There is not a British merchant in China who would not raise his voice against it, even though he was making that princely fortune which Mr. Turner refers to in his book; for let me assure you that your fellow-countrymen in China, who are but sojourners in that land, as they all hope to end their days at home, have as warm a love for their country and as keen a sense of their country's honour and dignity as any set of Englishmen residing here, however high their station and great their wealth.

I have shown you that Mr. Turner admits that opium smoking is common all over China. But, he says, the Chinese do not all smoke. In his book he affirms that it is only in recent years that opium has been grown in China. I now confront him with another book, which every one must admit is of greater authority than his. It is a book published towards the end of last year by a high official of the Chinese Government, Mr. Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of Customs, a gentleman who knows China and the Chinese better, perhaps, than any living European. That gentleman tells us a very different tale about opium to what the Anti-Opium

Society have regaled the world with. This book is an official one, issued from the Statistical Department of the Inspector-General of Customs at Shanghai. It stands upon a very different footing to the volume published by Mr. Turner, the paid secretary and strenuous advocate of the Anti-Opium Society. Mr. Robert Hart has control over the revenue of China as far as regards foreign trade. At every treaty port open to foreign vessels there is a foreign Commissioner of Customs, and Mr. Hart is the supreme head of these commissioners. He is a man deservedly trusted and respected by the Chinese Government; a man of great talents, of the very highest character, and, I believe, he is one of the most accomplished Chinese scholars that could be found. He says that opium has been grown in China from a remote period, and was smoked there before a particle of foreign opium ever came into the country. This is the passage from his—the now famous yellow-book:—"In addition to the foreign drug there is also the native product. Reliable statistics cannot be obtained respecting the total quantity produced. Ichang, the port nearest to Szechwan, the province which is generally believed to be the chief producer and chief consumer of native opium, estimates the total production of native opium at 25,000 chests annually; while another port, Ningpo, far away on the coast, estimates it at 265,000. Treating all such replies as merely so many guesses, there are, it is to be remarked, two statements which may be taken as facts in this connection: the one is that, as far as we

know to-day, the native opium produced does not exceed the foreign import in quantity ; *and the other that native opium was known, produced, and used long before any Europeans began the sale of the foreign drug along the coast.*"

So much for Mr. Storrs Turner's bold assertion that it is only recently that opium has been grown in China ; the obvious inference which he wished the reader to draw from it being that it was the importation of the Indian drug into China that induced the natives to plant opium there. Now, with respect to that most unfounded charge of the Chinese disliking the English for introducing opium into their country, and British commerce declining in consequence, I assure you that is all moonshine. These statements are not merely false assumptions, they are simply untrue. No one who has had any experience of China and its people, does not know perfectly well, that of the whole foreign trade with China the British do at least four-fifths ; not only have we the lion's share of the trade, but it is an unquestionable fact that of all the nations who have made treaties and had dealings with China, the British are and have been for many years the most respected by the Chinese people. Yes, I say it is an indisputable fact, notwithstanding all our past troubles about smuggling and our wars with China, which Mr. Turner is so fond of dilating upon, that at this day, by high and low, rich and poor, from the mandarin to the humble coolie, England is held in higher regard than any other nation. If trade with China has in any way

declined, the fact is traceable to other and different causes.

Now why are England and Englishmen thought so well of by the Chinese? It is because the British merchants and British people in China have acted towards the Chinese, with whom they have had dealings, with honour and rectitude—because in their intercourse with the natives they have been kind, considerate, and obliging—because, instead of resenting the old rude and overbearing manners of the Chinese officials and others, they have returned good for evil, and shown by their conciliatory bearing and gentlemanly conduct that the British people are not the barbarians they had been taught to believe. By such means the British residents in China have gone far to break down the barrier of prejudice towards foreigners behind which the people of China had hedged themselves, thus preparing the way for the labours of the missionaries. If further proof were wanting that the British are held in high estimation by the people and the Government of China, it will be found in the fact, that our own countryman, Mr. Robert Hart, occupies the high and honourable position of Inspector-General of Chinese Customs. Mr. Hart is also a trusted counsellor of the Chinese Government.

It is not very long since the Governor of Canton paid a visit to the Governor of Hong Kong; such an act of courtesy to Her Majesty's representative on the part of so great a Chinese magnate was until then, I believe, unprecedented. The constant exclamation

of the great mandarin as he was being driven through the streets was—"What a wonderful place! What a wonderful place!" in allusion to the fine buildings, the wide and clean streets, and the dense and busy population around him. Do you think we should have such a state of things if we were demoralizing and ruining the people of China, as is alleged by the Anti-Opium Society? 62892

Upon this point I will mention an incident that occurred soon after I arrived in China. A respectable Chinaman asked me to prepare his will. He gave me for the purpose, written instructions in Chinese characters, which I had translated. On reading the translation I found his instructions very clearly drawn up, but what was pleasing to me, and what is pertinent to my subject, was the following passage, with which he commenced them:—"Having," said he, "under the just and merciful laws administered by the English Government of Hong Kong, amassed in commerce considerable wealth, I now, feeling myself in failing health, wish to make a distribution of the same." There are thousands like that Chinaman in Hong Kong, and also in Shanghai, and in all the treaty ports of China. In speaking as this man did, he was only giving expression to the feelings of all his countrymen who have had dealings with the English in China. Are such feelings on the part of these Chinese consistent with the consciousness that we are enriching ourselves by ruining the health and morals of their countrymen?

There are very few, perhaps, in this country who

know what Hong Kong is. It is a flourishing and beautiful city, standing upon a site which, but the other day, was a barren rock. Forty years ago, the English Government sent out a commissioner to report upon the capabilities of the place for a town or settlement. He sent home word that there was just room for *one* house there. On that very site there are now many thousand houses, some of them palatial buildings; with a Chinese population of nearly 150,000. They are all doing well. Some of them are wealthy merchants; many of them are shopkeepers; others are artificers; and a very large number of them are labourers or coolies. There is no pauperism in the colony. They are all well-to-do, or able to live comfortably, and, what is more, they are all happy and contented. A handful of police preserves the peace of the colony. You might send a child from one end of the town to the other without fear of molestation. Indeed the Chinese themselves are the very best police; for, take the Chinese all round, they are the most orderly and law-abiding people in the world. They respect the British Government as much as the British people do themselves. They bring their families to Hong Kong, settle down there, and make themselves perfectly at home, feeling more secure and happier there than, I am sorry to say, they ever could feel in their own country; because in Hong Kong there is perfect equality before the law for every man, irrespective of race, colour, or nationality. The life and property of every man there is secure. This is not the case in China. Mr. Turner speaks of the

Chinese Government as being a paternal Government, who, the moment they find anything being practised injurious to the people, at once take steps to put it down. I tell you, as a fact, that a more corrupt Government,* so far at least as the Judges and high Mandarins downwards, never existed in the whole world. There is no such thing as justice to be had without paying for it; if it is not a misnomer to say so, for the so-called justice is bought and sold every day. Corruption pervades the whole official class. I could detail facts as to the punishment of the innocent and the escape of the guilty, which came under my own observation, that would make one's flesh creep.

Now, Hong Kong is a large place, with, as I have already said, a considerable Chinese population. If all that the anti-opium people allege about opium smoking were true, it is the very place where you would find the evils of the practice in all their deformity. But they are not to be found. You will constantly hear stories from the missionaries of wretched creatures, the slaves of the opium pipe, crawling to the medical officers of missionary hospitals, who are to a certain extent missionaries themselves, and asking to be cured of the terrible

* The loose control possessed by the Emperor over his officials was well described by one of the most trusted ministers of the great Emperor Keen Lung. He said to one of the Jesuit missionaries at Peking, that "the Emperor himself cannot put a stop to the evils that exist in the service. To displace those officials who have misbehaved themselves, he may send others, but instead of removing the evil they generally commit greater exactions than their predecessors. The Emperor is assured that all is well, whilst affairs are at their worst and the people are oppressed."

consequences of their indulgence in opium smoking. The medical officer, a victim himself, in most cases, to the delusions set afloat, accepts their story, pities the men, and takes them into the hospital; and, believing that if they do not get a moderate indulgence in opium smoking they will pine away and die, the good, easy man, full of kindness and simplicity, gives them a liberal allowance, which his patients are delighted to get. Knowing the bent of mind of the confiding doctor, they fill him with all kinds of rubbish as to the evils attendant upon opium smoking in general, which the other swallows without a particle of doubt. If, however, the truth were known, it would be found that those men who go with such tales to the medical missionary are in most, if not all, cases simply impostors, generally broken-down thieves, sneaks, and scoundrels—the very scum of the people. No longer having energy even to steal, they are driven off by their old associates, to starve or die in a gaol. These men are the craftiest, the meanest, and most unscrupulous on the face of the globe. They well know all that the missionaries think about opium smoking, and, like the accommodating Mr. Jingle, they have a hundred stories of the same kind ready to pour into the ears of their kind-hearted benefactors, who become in turn their victims. Much merriment, I have no doubt, these scamps indulge in amongst themselves at the good doctor's expense; for the Chinese are not deficient in humour, and have a keen sense of the ludicrous. These people crawl to one of these hospitals; the doctor is delighted

with their stories, for they confirm all he has written home or published, perhaps in *The Friend of China*, the organ of the Anti-Opium Society. He communicates with the missionary; their stories are sent home, and the patients get for three or four weeks excellent food and comforts, including plenty of opium, before they are turned out as cured. The lepers have been cleansed and made whole, but only to enable them to prey once more upon the industrious community.

Such are the stories which have caused much of this uproar about opium smoking. There is scarcely a particle of truth in any one of them. No man can indulge in opium to such an extent as to harm himself unless he possesses some means, and if such a person became ill from over-indulgence, he would not go to a foreign hospital, but would send for a doctor to treat him at his own house. It is only the broken-down pauper, thief, or beggar, who, in his last extremity, seeks admission to the hospital. Dr. Ayres, the learned and efficient Colonial Surgeon of Hong Kong, was the first to expose this imposture. Previous to taking up his appointment in Hong Kong he had been on the medical staff of India, where he made opium a special study. On arriving at Hong Kong he found it had been the custom there to allow such of the prisoners in the gaol as were heavy smokers a daily portion of prepared opium,—it having been supposed by his predecessors that without it such prisoners would die. Dr. Ayres, however, knew better; and he at once put an

end to the custom. He would not allow one grain of opium or other stimulant to be given to any prisoner, however advanced a smoker he might be. The result was that the hitherto pampered prisoners moaned and groaned, pretending, no doubt, to be very ill; but after a little time they got quite well. The Doctor has published his experiences on this subject in the *Friend of China* and other serials, which I have not now at hand: however, they fully bear out my views.

There is another point which it is important I should lay before you. Any one hearing of the alleged dreadful effects of opium smoking upon the Chinese, and our wicked conduct in forcing the drug upon them, making them buy it whether they wish to or not, would think that the Chinese were a simple, unsophisticated people, something like the natives of Madagascar, or a people lately rescued from barbarism by missionaries; that they were a weak race of people, without mental stamina or strength of mind—a soft, simple, easily persuaded race. These are the views which the Anti-Opium Society tries to impress upon the public mind, and which their Secretary, Mr. Storrs Turner, in particular, endeavours to inculcate. To prove that this is so, I will read you a passage from his work. But before doing so, I may tell you that there is not a more astute, active-minded, and knowing race under the sun than the Chinese. For craft and subtlety I will back one of them against any European. I will now read the passage I have referred to. At page 3 you will read:—"More opium is consumed in China than in all the rest of the world,

and nearly the whole of the opium imported into China is shipped from Calcutta and Bombay. The East and the West, England, India, and China, act and re-act upon each other through the medium of poppy-juice. Simple mention of the relations which these three great countries bear to the drug is enough to show that a very grave question is involved in the trade. England is the grower, manufacturer, and seller; India furnishes the farm and the factory; China is buyer and consumer. The question which obviously arises is this, Is it morally justifiable and politically expedient for the English nation to continue the production and sale of a drug so deleterious to its consumers? Before, however, we enter upon a consideration of this question, we must explain how it has come to pass that the British nation has got into this unseemly position. Otherwise, the fact that the British Government is actually implicated in such a trade may well appear incredible. If, for instance, any minister could be shameless enough to suggest that England should embark on a vast scale into the business of distillers, and with national funds, by servants of Government, under inspection and control of Parliament, *produce and export annually ten or twenty millions' worth of gin and whisky to intoxicate the populous tribes of Central Africa, he would be greeted by a general outcry of indignation. Yet the very thing which we scout as an imagination, we consent to as a reality.* We are maintaining our Indian Empire by our profits as wholesale dealers in an article which, to say the best of, is as bad as gin."

Now, is that a fair parallel? Is it honest or just to place the civilized, wise, and industrious Chinese in the same category as the barbarous natives of Central Africa? China, though a heathen, is a civilized nation. The civilization of the Chinese does not date from yesterday. When England was inhabited by painted savages, China was a civilized and flourishing Empire. When ancient Greece was struggling into existence, China was a settled nation, with a religion and with laws and literature dating back to a period lost in the mist of ages. Five thousand years ago, as the Rev. Dr. Legge, the Professor of Chinese at Oxford, tells us, the Chinese believed in one God, and had, in fact, a theology and a system of ethics known now as Confucianism, certainly superior to that of Greece or Rome. They had then and still have a written language of their own, in which the works of their sages and philosophers are recorded. There are books extant in that language for more than 3,000 years ago. In a book written by Dr. Legge, entitled "The Religions of China," of the labour involved in the production of which you must not judge by the size, it is shown that the Chinese, not only of to-day, but of 5,000 years ago, were a great nation. Now, is it fair of the Rev. Storrs Turner, who is himself no mean Chinese scholar, to mislead his readers by making use of so forced and inapplicable a comparison? Can there, in fact, be any analogy whatever between the Indo-China opium trade, even supposing that the smoking of the drug were as deleterious to the system as is alleged.

and sending whisky to the savages of Central Africa? Yet these are the kind of arguments used by the missionaries and the opium-phobists for the propagation of their mischievous and unfounded theories. An ordinary person reading Mr. Turner's book would swallow this simile as one precisely in point, and end by feeling horrified at the iniquities we were perpetrating in China. I recently met a lady with whom I had been in correspondence for some time on professional business. In the course of conversation we happened to speak about opium, and the moment the subject was mentioned she turned up her eyes in horror and declared that she was ashamed of her country for the wrong it was inflicting upon the natives of China. I very soon, however, undeceived her on the point, as I have since done with many others labouring under the same delusion. Unfortunately the minds of many in England have become imbued with the same erroneous belief, which is entirely owing to the false and mischievous teaching of the Anti-Opium Society, and to the powerful machinery that Society has available for disseminating its doctrines. I have already told you something as regards the character of the Chinese generally. I will now mention some more specific points, because it is really important that you should thoroughly understand what kind of people the Chinese are, for that is a matter going to the root of the whole question. If I show you, as I believe I shall be able to, that the Chinese are as intelligent and as well able to take care of themselves as we ourselves are, you will be slow to believe that they are

silly enough to allow us to poison them with opium, as it is alleged we are doing. A stranger mixture of good and evil could hardly be met with than you will find in the Chinese—crafty, over-reaching, mendacious beyond belief, double-dealing, distrustful, and suspicious even of their own relations and personal friends; self-opinionated, vain, conceited, arrogant, hypocritical, and deceitful. That is the character that I give you of them; but it is the worst side of their nature, for they have many redeeming qualities. I will now place before you their character from another and a more competent authority. The Rev. Dr. Gray was, until recently, for about twenty years Archdeacon of Hong Kong, but during the greater part, if not the whole of that time, he was the respected and faithful incumbent of the English Church at Canton, where he resided. Now Dr. Gray, who is still in the prime of life, is a learned and able man; a keen observer of human nature; a sound, solid, sensible Churchman, and so highly esteemed for his excellent qualities that I do not think any Englishman who ever lived in China has left a more honoured name behind him than he has. He mixed a great deal amongst the Chinese as well as amongst his own countrymen. He also travelled much in China, and there really could not be a more competent authority as to the character of the Chinese people; and, indeed, as to all matters connected with China. In 1878 he published a valuable and most trustworthy book.* It is not the production

* *"China; a History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People."*

of a person who has merely made a flying visit to China; but it is the work of a profound thinker and observer, of a man who has studied deeply and made himself thoroughly acquainted with his subject. He says, at p. 15, vol. i.: "Of the moral character of the people, who have multiplied until they are 'as the sands upon the sea-shore,' it is very difficult to speak justly. The moral character of the Chinese is a book written in strange letters, which are more complex and difficult for one of another race, religion, and language to decipher than their own singularly compounded word-symbols. In the same individual virtues and vices apparently incompatible are placed side by side—meekness, gentleness, docility, industry, contentment, cheerfulness, obedience to superiors, dutifulness to parents, and reverence to the aged, are, in one and the same person, the companions of insincerity, lying, flattery, treachery, cruelty, jealousy, ingratitude, and distrust of others." It will be necessary to bear in mind, in connection with what I mean to tell you, that this is the character which an English clergyman and scholar gives of the Chinese. Dr. Gray was not a missionary, and it is to the missionary clergymen generally that the extraordinary and delusive statements respecting opium which I am combating are due. I have the very highest respect for those missionary gentlemen,—no one can have more. In their missionary labours they have my complete sympathy, and no person can possibly value them as such more than I do, nor be more ready than I am to bear testimony to the ability, piety,

industry, and unceasing energy which they have always displayed. But they are not infallible. They are enthusiastic in their sacred calling; but that fact, whilst it does them honour, shows that their extraordinary assertions as to the opium trade should be received with caution, if not distrust. They are the men who are really responsible for the unfounded opinions and views which have got abroad on this question. Now, is it not significant that Dr. Gray, whom the people of Canton esteemed and respected more than any European except the late Sir Brooke Robertson, who was more Chinese than the Chinese themselves, should have said nothing against opium in that valuable and exhaustive work of his? Is it not passing strange that this shrewd observer of men and manners, this intelligent English clergyman, who has passed all these years at Canton, which next to Hong Kong is the great emporium of opium in the south of China, should be silent upon the alleged iniquities that his countrymen are committing in China? Dr. Gray is a patriotic English gentleman. Can you suppose for a moment, that if we were demoralizing and ruining the people of the great city of Canton, and above all that we were impeding the progress of the Gospel in China, that his voice would not be heard thundering against the iniquity? Dr. Gray is an earnest and eloquent preacher as well as an accomplished writer; yet his voice has been silent on this great national crime. Is it to be thought that, if there were any truth in this outcry spread abroad by the Anti-Opium Society, he

would have omitted to have enlarged upon the alleged wickedness of the opium trade when writing this book upon the manners and customs of the Chinese? Is it not remarkable that he has said not a word about that wickedness, and that all these alleged evils arising from the opium trade are only conspicuous in his book by their absence?

But to return to the character of the Chinese. Dr. Wells Williams, a missionary clergyman of the highest character, who, being a missionary, I need hardly say does not hold the views that I do, has written another admirable book upon China.* In it he has described the Chinese character very fully. He first tells us, at page 2 of the second volume, what one Tien Kishi—a popular essayist—thinks of foreigners. “I felicitate myself,” he says, “that I was born in China, and constantly think how very different it would have been with me if I had been born beyond the seas in some remote part of the earth, where the people, far removed from the converting maxims of the ancient kings and ignorant of the domestic relations, are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness and live in the holes of the earth. Though born in the world in such a condition, I should not have been different from the beasts of the field. But now, happily, I have been born in the ‘Middle Kingdom.’ I have a house to live in, have food and drink and elegant furniture,

* “The Middle Kingdom.” A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, &c., of the Chinese Empire, and its Inhabitants.

have clothing and caps and infinite blessings—truly the highest felicity is mine.”

That is the opinion of every Chinaman respecting foreigners ; yet these are the people who, it is said, at our bidding and instigation, are ruining their prospects and their health by smoking our opium. Dr. Williams further says of them, at page 96 of the same volume: “More ineradicable than the sins of the flesh is the falsity of the Chinese and its attendant sin of base ingratitude. Their disregard of truth has, perhaps, done more to lower their character in the eyes of Christendom than any other fault. They feel no shame at being detected in a lie, though they have not gone quite so far as not to know when they do lie, nor do they fear any punishment from the gods for it. Every resident among them and all travellers declaim against their mendacity.” I shall give you by-and-by instances, actual facts known to myself, to prove that every word Dr. Williams has said is true; and further, that the Chinese will indulge in falsehood, not merely for gain or to carry out some corrupt purpose, but for the mere pleasure of lying, or to gratify and oblige a friend. Dr. Williams then goes on to moralize, and admits that the Chinese have a great many virtues as well as a great many very foul vices. Unquestionably they have a great many virtues, and amongst these are commercial honour and probity. For commercial instincts and habits I place them next to the British. These are not the class of men to allow themselves to be befooled with opium. Another virtue they possess, and it is one very perti-

nent to the subject of this lecture, is abstemiousness ; they are positively the most self-denying and abstemious people on the face of the earth.

Not only are the Chinese abstemious as regards opium smoking, but also as regards spirit drinking. It is not, I think, generally known that there is a spirit manufactured, and used throughout China, which is commonly called by foreigners "sam-shu." It is very cheap, and there is no duty upon it in Hong Kong. I suppose a pint bottle of it can be bought for a penny or three-halfpence. It is a sort of whisky distilled from rice. The Chinese use it habitually, especially after meals, and I do not suppose there is a single English resident of Hong Kong, or any of the Treaty Ports, who does not know this fact. The practice in China is, for the servants of Europeans to go early to market each morning and bring home what is required for the day's use. I have seen, in the case of my own servants, the bottle of sam-shu brought home morning after morning as regularly as the food for daily use. Yet I never saw one of my servants drunk or under the influence of liquor. What is more than that, although sam-shu is drunk throughout the whole of Hong Kong, I never saw a Chinaman drunk, nor ever knew of one being brought up before the magistrate for intemperance. I cannot say the same thing for my own countrymen. Does not that form the strongest possible evidence that the Chinese are an extremely abstemious race? Yet these are the people whom Mr. Turner would put in the same category as

the savages of Africa? Well, then, is it likely that a people so abstemious as regards spirits would indulge to excess in opium, especially if the drug has the intoxicating and destructive qualities ascribed to it by the missionaries? The Chinese also are a very frugal people. Six dollars, or about 24s. of our money, per month are considered splendid wages by a coolie. On two dollars a month they can live comfortably. He sends, perhaps, every month one or two dollars to his parents or wife in his native village; for generally a Chinaman, be he never so poor, has a wife, it being in China a duty, if not an article of religion, to marry young. The remainder they hoard for a rainy day. Now, I say again, if the Chinese are such abstemious and frugal people, and that they are so is unquestionable, does not the same rule apply to opium as to spirits? The truth of the matter is, that it is a very small per-centage of those who smoke opium who indulge in it to any considerable extent—probably about one in a thousand. When a Chinaman's day's work is over, and he feels fatigued or weary, he will, if he can afford it, take a whiff or two of the opium pipe, seldom more. If a friend drops in he will offer him a pipe, just as we would invite a friend to have a glass of sherry or a cigar. This use of the opium pipe does good rather than harm. Those who indulge in the pipe take their meals and sleep none the worse. My own belief is that opium smoking exercises a beneficial influence upon those who habitually practise it, far more so than the indulgence in

tobacco, which is a more deadly poison than the poppy, having no curative properties whatever.

I have stated in my programme of these lectures that the views put forward by the "Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade" were based upon fallacies and false assumptions. I have now to tell you what these fallacies and false assumptions are. The first of these fallacies is, *that opium smoking in China is now and always has been confined to a small per-centage of the population, but which, owing to the introduction into the country of Indian opium, is rapidly increasing.* The fact being that the custom is, and for centuries has been, general among the male adults throughout China, its use being limited only by the ability to procure the drug.

The second is, *that opium smoking is injurious to the system, more so than spirit drinking.* The truth being that the former is not only harmless but beneficial to the system, whilst spirit drinking ruins the health, degrades the character, incites its victims to acts of violence, and destroys the prospects of every one who indulges to excess in the practice.

The third is, *that the supply of opium regulates the demand, and not the demand the supply.* When I come to consider this in detail, I think I shall rather surprise you by the statements in support of this extraordinary theory gravely put forward by Mr. Storrs Turner in this wonderful book of his. The use of so utterly an untenable proposition shows to what extremes enthusiasts will resort in support of the hobby they are riding to death; how desperate men advocating a

hopeless cause will grasp at shadows to support their theories. When such persons wish a certain state of things to be true and existing, they never stop to scrutinize the arguments they use in support of them. If Mr. Storrs Turner had not opium on the brain to an alarming extent, and was writing by the light of reason and common sense, he would no more dream of putting forward such a theory than he would entertain the faintest hope of establishing his doctrine.

The fourth fallacy is, *that opium smoking and opium eating are equally hurtful.* The fact being that there is the widest difference in the world between the two practices, as I shall hereafter conclusively prove to you. Upon this point I may tell you, that Mr. Storrs Turner, in the appendix to his book, gives numerous extracts from evidence taken on various occasions as to opium *eating*, which has no relevancy to opium smoking; not that I am disposed to admit that opium eating in moderation is a baneful practice, the medical evidence on the subject being at present conflicting.

The fifth is, *that all, or nearly all, who smoke opium are either inordinate smokers or are necessarily in the way of becoming so, and that once the custom has been commenced it cannot be dropped; but the victim to it is compelled to go on smoking the drug to his ultimate destruction.* That, I shall show you, is altogether untrue, hundreds of Chinese having been to my knowledge habitual and occasional opium smokers, who showed no ill effects whatever from the practice.

The sixth is, *that the Chinese Government is, or ever*

was, anxious to put a stop to the use, or even to check the use, of opium amongst the people of China. This is one of the most ridiculous and unfounded notions that ever entered the mind of man. There is a saying that "none are so blind as those who will not see," and here I shall show you is the strongest proof of the adage.

The seventh is, *that the British merchants in China are making large fortunes by opium.* The fact being that the Indo-China trade is profitable to a very few merchants only, whilst the British merchants as a body have no interest in the trade whatever.

The eighth is, *that the discontinuance of the supply of opium from British India would stop or effectually check the practice of opium smoking in China.* The fact being that the suppression of the present Indo-China opium trade, if indeed it were possible to suppress it, would have precisely the contrary effect. I shall prove to you clearly, that if the Indo-China opium trade, as at present carried on, were put an end to, such an impetus would be given to the opium trade in China as would enormously add to the production and consumption of the drug, and that British and other merchants who have now no dealings in opium, would in such case become largely engaged in the trade.

The ninth is, *that the opposition of Chinese officials to the introduction of opium into China arose from moral causes.* The fact being, as every sane man knows, that the true reason for such opposition was a desire to protect and promote the culture of native opium

to keep out the foreign drug, and thus prevent the bullion payable for the latter from leaving the country.

Last, but by no means least, is the fallacy and fond delusion, *that the introduction of Indian opium into China has arrested and is impeding the progress of Christianity in that country, and that if the trade were discontinued, the Chinese, or large numbers of them, would embrace the Gospel.* The fact being, that opium smoking has had nothing whatever to do with the propagation of Christianity in China, any more than rice or Manchester goods. Such an objection, if it has ever been made by a Chinaman, is simply a subterfuge. The Chinese are an acute and crafty race; when they desire to attain an object, they seldom attempt to do so by direct means, but rather seek to gain their ends indirectly. They despise and hate Christianity, though they will not tell you so, much less will they argue with you, or enter into controversy upon the subject. They will rather try to get rid of it by a side-wind. The Chinese are a very polite and courteous people, and understand this style of tactics very well. I have no doubt whatever that if the British trade in opium were suppressed to-morrow, and that no British merchant dealt any longer in the drug, or sent a particle of it into China, and if a missionary were to go before the Chinese, and say we can now show clean hands, our Government has stopped the opium trade, and then were to open his book and begin talking to them of Christianity, he would be met with derisive laughter. "This man," they would say, "thinks that because

the English have ceased to sell us opium we will all become Christians. If they ceased to sell us rice or broadcloth, I suppose they think we should become Mahomedans."

Knowing the cunning and keen sense of humour of the Chinese, I have no doubt they would use another argument also. There is a story told of a Scotch clergyman who rebuked one of his congregation for not being quite so moderate in his potations as he ought to be. "It's a' vera weel," returned the other, who had reason to know that the minister did not always practise what he preached, "but do ye ken how they swept the streets o' Jerusalem?" The clergyman was obliged to own his ignorance, when Sandy replied, "Weel, then, it was just this, every man kept his ain door clean." And I can well fancy in the case I have supposed, an equally shrewd Chinaman saying to the missionary, "What for you want to make us follow your religion? Your religion very bad one. You have plenty men drink too muchee sam-shu, get drunk and fight, and beat their wives and children. Chinaman no get drunk. Chinaman no beat or kill his wife. Too muchee sam-shu very bad. Drink very bad for Inglismen; what for don't you go home and teach them to be soba, plaupa men?"

This sad delusion on the part of the missionary clergymen is the origin of the mischievous and stupid agitation now going on against the Indo-China opium trade. About three years ago I paid a short visit to Japan, stopping there a few months. Whilst

I was at Tokio, the capital, a lecture was given there by an educated Japanese gentleman, who spoke English well and fluently. He introduced religion into his lecture, and considered the question why the Japanese did not embrace Christianity. "Our minds," said he, "are like blank paper; we are ready to receive any religion that is good, we are not bigoted to our own, but we object to Christianity because we do not consider it a good religion. Because we see that Christians do not reverence old age, and because they are so licentious, and so brutal to the coolies." But these reasons are again merely subterfuges. The Japanese do not smoke opium, and the very same objection they urge against Christianity might also be used by the Chinese. The Oriental mind is very much the same, whether Chinese, Japanese, or Indian. Upon religious or political questions they well know how to shift their ground. As to the Chinese embracing Christianity, I trust the day will soon come when they will do so. They would then be the most powerful nation in the whole world, and probably become our own best teachers on religion and morals; but at present I see no hope of their conversion. The reason given by the missionaries for the small success which has hitherto attended their efforts, is that the so-called iniquitous traffic in opium is the one stumbling-block in their way. Put a stop to this villanous trade, they say, and the Gospel will flourish like a green bay-tree. This sort of argument takes with religious people, and thus converts to the anti-opium policy are made.

Yet all these statements rest, I can assure you, on an entirely fallacious foundation. You may change a nation's religion, but you cannot alter its customs, and if China were evangelized to-morrow the Chinese would still continue opium smokers. I shall in my next lecture return to those fallacies and dispose of them in turn.



LECTURE II.

I CLOSED my first lecture with a list of fallacies, upon which the objections to the Indo-China opium trade, and the charges brought against England in relation to that trade, are founded, stating that I should return to them and dispose of each separately. I also said in the earlier part of my lecture, that the extraordinary hallucinations which had taken hold of the public mind, with respect to opium smoking in China, arose from the fact, amongst other causes, that the public had formed their opinions from hearsay evidence, and that of the very worst and most untrustworthy kind. I say untrustworthy because hearsay evidence, although inadmissible in our law courts except under certain circumstances, may be in some cases very good and reliable evidence. As this point goes to the root of all these fallacies and false assertions, and the delusions based upon them, I wish to show you why hearsay evidence is, in this case, of the worst and most unreliable kind. In the first instance, I would refer you to the general character of the Chinese for mendacity and deceit, admitted by all writers upon the subject of China and the Chinese, and supported by the general opinion of Europeans who have dwelt amongst them. Now, I am far from saying that every Chinaman is necessarily

a liar, or habitually tells lies for corrupt purposes. The point is, rather, that the Chinese do not understand truth in the sense that we do. The evidence of Chinese witnesses in courts of justice is proverbial for its untrustworthy character. The judges are not generally contented with the direct and cross-examination to which witnesses are ordinarily subjected by counsel, but frequently themselves put them under a searching examination, and generally require more evidence in the case of Chinese than they would if Europeans were alone concerned.

With my acquaintance of the Chinese I can say that they are a very good-natured people, especially when good-nature does not cost them much; but they are also a very vindictive people, as, I suppose, most heathen nations are. I have known cases where, to gratify private malice, or to obtain some object, the reason for which would be hard for us to appreciate, a Chinaman has got up a charge without foundation in fact, but supported by false witnesses, who were so well drilled and had so thoroughly rehearsed their parts that it was difficult to doubt, and almost impossible to disprove, the accusation. By such means innocent men have been condemned and sentenced to severe punishments, or been compelled to pay large sums of money.

I have, on the other hand, known cases that were placed in my hands which, according to the evidence placed before me, appeared perfectly clear and good in law; but on taking each witness quietly into my own office, and going through his evidence with him, the

whole fabric of the case would tumble down like a pack of cards; so that, although my client's case might still be intrinsically good, the witnesses he brought to me in support of it were found to know nothing about it whatever beyond what they had been told. It would turn out that they had been told this by one person, that by another, and so on: throughout the series of witnesses, not one of them would have any actual knowledge of the case. In cases like these there would probably be no corrupt motive whatever.

While upon this point I may allude to another peculiar phase in the Chinese character. They are so addicted to falsehood that they embellish truth, even in cases where they have the facts on their own side. On such occasions they like to add to it a fringe of falsehood, thinking, perhaps, that by doing so, they will make the truth stand out in brighter colours and appear more favourable in the eyes of the Court and the Jury. Another Chinese peculiarity is the following:—If you put questions to a Chinaman upon any particular subject, and by your manner of putting those questions he thinks you have an object in getting one particular kind of answer, he gives you that answer accordingly, out of mere good-nature. In these instances his imagination is wonderfully fertile. The moment he finds his replies afford pleasure, and that there is an object in view, he will give his questioner as much information of this kind as he likes. Not only is this the case with the common people, corresponding to the

working or the labouring classes here, but the habit really pervades the highest ranks of Chinese society. It is mentioned in Dr. Williams's work, how they think it no shame in being detected in a falsehood. It is very hard to understand, especially for an Englishman, such moral obtuseness. We are so accustomed to consider truth in the first place, and to look upon perjury and falsehood with abhorrence, that it may seem almost like romancing to gravely assure you of these facts.

If I give a few short anecdotes which are absolutely true, and in which I was personally concerned, I may put the matter more clearly before you. A Chinese merchant, now in Hong Kong, once placed a case in my hands, to prosecute a claim against a ship-master for short delivery of cargo, and from the documents he gave me, and the witnesses he brought to me, I had no hesitation in pronouncing his case a good one, although I knew the man was untruthful. When we came into court, knowing the proclivities of the man, my only fear was that he would not be content with telling simply the truth, but would so embellish it with falsehood that the judge would not believe his story. I therefore not only cautioned him myself in "pidgin English," but instructed my Chinese clerk and interpreter to do so also. My last words to him on going into court were, "Now mind you talkee true. Suppose you talkee true you gain your case. Suppose you talkee lie you lose." The man went into the witness-box, and I am bound to say that on that

occasions he did tell the truth, and nothing but the truth, but I could plainly see by his manner and bearing the task was a most irksome one to him. When he left the box, after cross-examination, I felt greatly relieved. The defendant, who, I am glad to say, was not an Englishman, although he commanded a British ship, told falsehood after falsehood. There could be no doubt about this, and the judge, Mr. Snowden, the present acting Chief Justice of Hong Kong, at last ordered him to leave the box, and gave judgment for my client. Notwithstanding this satisfactory result, I saw that the plaintiff was still not satisfied. I left the court and he followed me out. He still seemed discontented, and had the air of an injured man. When we got clear of the court he actually assailed me for having deprived him of the luxury of telling untruths. "What for," said he, "you say my no tell lie? that man have talkee plenty lie." I replied, "Oh, that man have losee; you have won." But with the look of an ill-used man, he walked away.

Now I will tell you another—and a totally different case. The judge on this occasion was Sir John Smale, late Chief Justice of Hong Kong, who is now residing in London. It was an action brought by a Chinese merchant, carrying on business in Cochin China, against his agent in Hong Kong, another Chinaman, who had not accounted for goods consigned to him for sale. The plaintiff put his case in my hands. When it

came into court the defendant was supported by witnesses who seemed to have no connection whatever with the subject-matter of the suit. They, however, swore most recklessly. In cross-examination one of the witnesses completely broke down. The Chief Justice then stopped the case, and characterized the defendant's conduct "as the grossest attempt at fraud he had ever met with since he had come to China," and, under the special powers he possessed, he sent the false witness to gaol for six weeks. The person so punished for perjury proved to be what we would call a Master of Arts. He was, in fact, an expectant mandarin, ranking very high in China. I should tell you that in that country there is no regular hereditary nobility, nor any aristocracy save the mandarin or official class. The fact is, and in view of Mr. Storrs Turner's comparison of the Chinese with the savages of Central Africa, I may here mention it, that in China education is the criterion of rank and precedence. They have a competitive system there, which undoubtedly is the oldest in the world. This man, as I said, was a Master of Arts, and would, in regular course, have been appointed to an important official post and taken rank as a mandarin. He was, I believe, at the time of his sentence, one of the regular examiners at the competitive examinations of young men seeking for employment in the Civil Service of the Empire. When the case ended, I dismissed it from my mind. But, to my great surprise, six or seven of the leading Chinamen of Hong Kong waited upon me on the following day, and

begged me to get this man out of gaol. They said the whole Chinese community in Hong Kong felt degraded at having one of their superior order, a learned Master of Arts, consigned to a foreign prison. They declared this to be the greatest indignity that could have been offered to the whole Chinese community. I replied that the fact of the prisoner being a man of education only aggravated his offence, that he had deliberately perjured himself in order to cheat my client, and that the foreign community considered his punishment far too lenient. But they could not see the matter in that light, and went away dissatisfied. They afterwards presented a petition to the Governor, praying for the man's release, but without success. My object in narrating this to you is to show the utter contempt which the Chinese, not only of the lower orders but of the better class, have for the truth. I could supplement these cases by many others, all showing that the Chinese do not regard the difference between truth and falsehood in the sense that we do.

To illustrate more clearly what I have told you, I will read to you a short passage from a leading article in the *China Mail*, a daily newspaper published in Hong Kong. The date of the paper is the 3rd of October, 1881. The editor is a gentleman who has been out there for twenty years; he is a man of considerable ability and knows the Chinese character perfectly, and I may also mention that he is a near relative of Mr. Storrs Turner. This is what he says:—"The question of the relia-

bility of Chinese witnesses is one which is continually presenting itself to all who have anything to do with judicial proceedings in this colony, and as jurors are usually saddled with the responsibility of deciding how far such evidence is to be credited in most serious cases, the subject is one which appeals to a large body of residents. An eminent local authority, some time since, gave it as his opinion that he did not think a Chinese witness could give accurate evidence, even if the precise truth would best suit his purpose. This is doubtless true to some extent, and it bears directly on one phase of the discussion, *viz.*, that of reliableness, so far as strict accuracy of detail is concerned. But a witness may be regarded as the witness of truth although he fails in that extremely precise or accurate narration of facts and details which goes so far to strengthen truthful testimony. What is meant here by reliability of witnesses, however, is their desire to tell what they *believe* to be the truth. It has been somewhere said, by one of authority on Chinese matters, that it is not particularly surprising that the Chinese, as a people, are so widely known as economisers of the truth, when their system of government is carefully considered. For a Chinaman, life assumes so many phases, in which a good round lie becomes a valuable commodity, that the only surprise remaining is, that he is ever known to tell the truth."

That is exactly what I have already said. It would occupy too much time to read the rest of the article, which is ably written, but the portion I have quoted

tends to show the unreliability of Chinese witnesses, even in a solemn Court of Justice.

Now, I think, I have shown you that our Celestial friends present rather an unpromising raw material from which to extract truth. Yet these are the men from whom the missionaries derive their information as to those wonderful consequences from opium smoking which, the more greedily swallowed, are the more liberally supplied, thus affording an illustration of Mr. Storrs Turner's extraordinary theory of supply and demand, of which I shall have to speak more by-and-by. Having exhibited to you the well of truth from which credible evidence is sought to be obtained, I have now to turn to the other side of the question and describe the character and competence of those who draw their facts from that source.

As regards the missionaries, I have stated before that I hold them in the very highest respect, and they are well deserving of it, and, indeed, of the consideration of the whole community. If I were to state anything to their prejudice or disadvantage, I should certainly be speaking without warrant, for a more respectable, hardworking, or conscientious body of gentlemen it would be difficult to find in the world. Perhaps they are the hardest worked and worst paid class of any foreigners in China. They have a work to perform, the difficulty of which is but partially understood in this country; that is, the task of converting these heathen people, who think Confucianism and the other religions engrafted upon it which they follow, immeasurably superior to ours. They

point to our prophets and sages as men of yesterday, and look with comparative contempt upon our literature, laws, and customs. The real difficulty of the situation lies in these facts ; believe me, that it is as absurd as it is false to say that opium has had anything to do with the slow progress of Christianity in China. Missionary clergymen, it is to be feared, are not the best men to get at the facts of the opium question. If a foreigner were to ask me in which quarter he would be likely to get the best information regarding the manners and customs of the people of this country, I should certainly advise him to obtain introductions to some of our working clergy of all denominations, because they are the people's trusted friends and advisers, sharing in their joys and sorrows, and sympathizing with their wants and necessities. They are educated and matter-of-fact men, just the class of persons to afford sound and accurate information as to the country and people. This is generally admitted. The same line of reasoning does not apply to our missionary clergymen in China. No doubt there have been some admirable books written on China by missionary clergymen, such as the "Middle Kingdom," from which I have already quoted, and Dr. Doolittle's book, but every one who has lived long in China takes all their statements on every point affecting their missionary labours *cum grano*. So far as the manners and customs of the Chinese can be understood from their outdoor life, literature, and laws, they are competent judges enough ; but as they are not admitted into Chinese

dwelling, and do not possess the confidence of the people, they cannot be accepted as authorities on the opium question. These gentlemen, if they were at home in England, would, no doubt, have their livings and vicarages, and would take their place with the regular clergy of the country. But in China things are totally different. There the people not only despise them, but laugh at the creed they are trying to teach. The Chinese have an accepted belief three or four thousand years older than Christianity, and they are well aware of the fact. Despising Europeans, as they do, and looking upon themselves as a superior race, it is not likely that the Chinese will take missionary clergymen into their confidence, or afford them any trustworthy information about private or personal matters. In fact, there is no cordiality between the Chinese and the missionaries.

Still the Chinese are a very polite people, and no doubt they are and will continue to be outwardly very civil to missionaries, and will give courteous answers to their questions, although they may consider them impudent intruders; but it does not follow that they will give *true* answers. A respectable Chinaman, such as a merchant, or a shopkeeper, would consider himself disgraced among his own community if it were known that he had embraced Christianity, or even entertained the thought of doing so. I do not believe that, long as I have been in China, I had a single regular Chinese client who was a Christian—merchant, shopkeeper, or coolie, and I

have had professional dealings with thousands of them—all were heathens. In very rare instances Chinese professing Christianity will be met holding respectable positions; but I do not believe that any of such people are sincere. I had myself a clerk for about twelve years; he was a young man educated at St. Paul's College, in Hong Kong. The College is now closed, but when in existence the pupils there got an excellent education, and were also well clothed and fed. They were not only taught Chinese, as is the case in Chinese schools, but also to read and speak English well. When he went to the school he was not more than seven or eight years old, and left it probably when he was fourteen or fifteen. He was an excellent clerk, a highly intelligent young fellow, and wrote and spoke English well. Now, if ever there were a case where a lad might be expected to be a sincere convert this was the one. He had been strictly brought up as a Christian, read the Bible regularly, and was more kindly treated than he would have been in many schools in this country. Even that boy was not a sincere convert.

When about eighteen years of age he got married, as is the custom with the youth of China. On informing me of his intention, he asked me to procure from the Superintendent of Police the privilege of having "fire crackers" at his wedding, a heathen custom, supposed to drive away evil spirits. I reminded him that I had always believed him a Christian; when he said, "Oh! it's a Chinese custom." However, I got him the privilege. But

instead of being married in the church, which he had been in the habit of attending when a pupil in St. John's College, he was married according to the Chinese fashion, which is a primitive proceeding, and strictly heathen in its form. He never went near the church at all. A few days afterwards I remarked to him that he had not been married in the church. He laughed, and said, "that as he and his wife were Chinese they could only be married according to Chinese fashion."

Let me give another story in point. I knew a man in Hong Kong who for a long time was the only Chinese on the jury list. He spoke English fairly well. He was educated at a school presided over by the late Rev. Dr. Morrison, the learned sinologue, who had lived in Hong Kong before my time. His school was an excellent one, and had turned out some very good scholars. I have seen this man go into the jury box, and often, too, into the witness box, and take the Bible in his hand and kiss it ostentatiously. I used to think he was a sincere Christian, and was glad to see so respectable a Chinaman (for he held a responsible position in a bank) acknowledge in public that he was a Christian. But that man, I afterwards discovered from the best possible authority, was at heart a heathen; he always had idols, or, as we call them, "Josses," in his house. He also was a Christian in name, and nothing more.

There was another man educated in Dr. Morrison's school. Dr. Legge knew him very well, and was a sort of patron of his. I suppose it is pretty

well known that polygamy is a custom in China, and that it is quite an exception for a Chinese in any decent position there not to have three, four, or more wives; the more he has the greater his consequence among his countrymen. This man, as a matter of fact, had three wives, and when his so-called first wife (who is, in fact, the only legitimate wife recognized as such by the law of China) died, he was in a great fright lest Dr. Legge should discover that he had two more wives, for it is customary that the other wives should attend as mourners the funeral of the first. Now these are the sort of converts, for the most part, to be met with in China. As a rule, they are far less honest and more untruthful than their heathen countrymen. Are these the class of the Chinese from which truth is to be gleaned? Is the testimony of such people of the slightest value? Yet these are the persons from whom the missionaries derive their knowledge of opium smoking and its effects. I venture to say that among all the so-called Christian converts in China you will not find more than five per cent. who are really sincere—all the rest professing Christianity to obtain some personal advantage. These so-called converts are generally people from the humblest classes, because, as I have mentioned before, people of the better class, such as merchants, shopkeepers and tradesmen, not only consider their own religion superior to the Christian's creed, but they would be ashamed to adopt Christianity, as they would thus be disgraced and make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of their

neighbours; and they are a people peculiarly sensitive to ridicule. I will not say that there are not some real converts to be found among Chinese congregations; if there are none, the missionary clergymen are certainly not to blame, for they are indefatigable in their exertions to make converts. As I have already said, the difficulty attending their efforts is enormous. It must be remembered that in China we are not teaching Christianity to the poor African, or the semi-civilized natives of Madagascar or the Fiji Islands; but that we are dealing with civilized men, who consider their own country and literature, customs and religion, far superior to those of England or of any other country in the world. The Chinese are so convinced of this, that the very coolies in the streets consider themselves the superiors of the foreign ladies and gentlemen that pass, or whom, perhaps, they are carrying in their sedan chairs.

I hold the missionaries altogether responsible for the hallucination that has taken possession of the public mind on the opium question. With the Bible they revere and love in their hands, they think the Chinese should eagerly embrace the doctrine it inculcates, and, unable to account for their failure, they eagerly accept the subterfuge offered by certain Chinese for not accepting Christianity or attending to their teaching. They feel that it is, or may be, expected of them in this country, that they should have large congregations of native proselytes, such as, I believe, the missionaries have

in Madagascar, and in like places, forgetting that no parallel can be drawn between such races and the Chinese. The missionary clergymen in China are, not unnaturally, anxious to account for their supposed failure in that large and heathen country. The better class of Chinese, as I have said, will not listen to a missionary, or argue with him. They do not want to hear lectures on Christianity, and grow impatient at any disparaging remark about their own religion. They simply say, "We have a religion that is better than yours, and we mean to stick to it." The missionaries, however, think they ought to have better success. They are indefatigable in their labours, and as they do not meet with the results they think ought to ensue from their labours, and as their sanguine minds cling to the remotest chance on which to hang a hope, they accept the stale and miserable subterfuge, to the use of which their converts are prompted by the Mandarins, that the Indo-China opium trade is vicious, and that before Christianity is accepted by the country, the trade in question must be abolished.

The Chinese, knowing the weakness of the missionaries, play upon it; and one of the best instances I can give you that they are successful is this:—They tell them that the Chinese Government objects to the opium trade upon moral grounds; but it never occurs to the missionaries to retort and say, "If so, why does your Government not prevent the cultivation of opium throughout China? In the provinces of Yunnan and Szechuen, and all over

China indeed, enormous crops of opium are raised every year; why does not your Government, knowing, as you say, that the effects of opium are so fatal, put a stop to the growth of the deleterious drug?" It is only of late that the Chinese Government has taken up the moral objection, and the reason it has done so is because it has found out the weak side of the missionaries, probably through *The Friend of China*, published at Shanghai.

When it is taken into account that of late years the average quantity of Indian opium imported into China is about 100,000 chests, each of which, for all practical purposes, may be called a hundredweight, and that the price of each of these chests landed in China is about 700 dollars, and that the whole works up to something like sixteen millions sterling, the strong objection of the Mandarin classes to allow such a large amount of specie to leave the country becomes intelligible. For although China is an immense empire, with great natural resources, it is still a poor country as regards the precious metals. No doubt an economist would tell them: "It is true we sell you all this opium, but then we send you back again all the money you pay for it, with a great deal more besides, for the purchase of your tea and silk." But the Mandarin would only laugh at such an argument. "Ah," he would say, "you must have tea and silk in any case; you can't do without them. We want to get hold of your silver and give you none of ours." Now that is the true cause, or one of the true causes, of the objection of the Government of

China to the importation into that country of Indian opium.

The missionaries, or at all events the greater number of them, have adopted the view, that if they could only put a stop to the importation of Indian opium into China the evangelization of the country would be a question only of time; and in one sense, indeed, this would be true; but the time would not be short, but very long. The Chinese have a keen sense of humour, and if the British would allow themselves to be deluded by the specious arguments with which the religious world is constantly regaled about the opium question, so far as to put a stop to the traffic, such a feeling of contempt for English common sense, and in consequence for the religion of Englishmen, would ensue, that the spread of the Gospel in China would be further retarded. The truth about opium is so clear to those who trust to the evidence of their senses, and who look at it from a plain common sense point of view, that they cannot for a moment see that there is any connection whatever between opium and Christianity. It seems to me that those gentlemen who adopt the anti-opium doctrine, and scatter it abroad, are only comparable to the monomaniac, who, sane upon every subject but one, is thoroughly daft upon that. No better example of this can I give you than by referring to a speech made by a gentleman much respected by the community, whom I have always considered as one of the hardest-headed men sitting in the House of Commons, possessing sound common sense on all subjects save that of opium.

I refer to Mr. J. W. Pease, the member for South Durham. Last year the usual anti-opium debate came on in the House of Commons. Mr. Pease delivered a speech on the occasion denunciatory of the Indo-China trade, in the course of which he referred to the treaty recently made between China and America, one of the clauses in which provides that American ships shall not import opium into China, and that no Chinaman shall be allowed to import opium into America, where there is a large Chinese population, especially San Francisco. The treaty relates to other matters, and this clause is, so to speak, interpolated into it, for a purpose I shall explain by-and-by. It was intended to appear as a sort of *quid pro quo*, for whilst America gave up nothing, she obtained some commercial advantages by the treaty. This is the clause: "The Governments of China and of the United States mutually agree and undertake that Chinese subjects shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States; and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China. This absolute prohibition, which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, to foreign vessels employed by them or to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, and employed by other persons for transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of China, and the United States, and the benefits of the favoured claims in existing treaties shall not be claimed by the citizens or subjects

of either Power as against the provisions of this article." I happened to be weather-bound in Rome when I first read that amusing and unmeaning clause in a Hong Kong paper which reached me there in February, 1881. The treaty was made in 1880. Knowing thoroughly the situation, and all the facts connected with the Indo-China opium trade, I undertake to assure you that that treaty, so far, at least, as regards the opium clause I have read to you, was simply a farce. America has few or no steamers trading in the China seas. She has protected her mercantile marine so well that she has now very little occasion for exercising her protection. She has no vessels trading between India and China, and never has had any. The United States have, however, a line of steamers running between San Francisco and Hong Kong; but she has no other regular trading steamers with China, and, as a matter of fact, no American ships carry one ounce of opium between India or China, or to the port of Hong Kong, or have carried it for many years. Nor is there at present the slightest probability that her ships will ever carry opium between India and China. America, in fact, might, with as much self-denial, undertake not to carry coals to Newcastle as Indian opium to China. There are regular lines of British steamers plying between the ports of Bombay, Calcutta, and Hong Kong, by which all Indian opium for the China trade is carried direct to its destination.

I declare that anything more utterly absurd, deceptive, and dishonest never formed the subject

of an international treaty. The whole affair was so utterly false and misleading that the first thing I did after reading the treaty was to cut it out from the newspaper and forward it, with an explanatory letter, to the *Times*, the usual refuge of the aggrieved Briton. This deceptive clause was intended simply to mislead the simple, benevolent, good-natured John Bull, already, as the framers of the treaty no doubt supposed, half-crazed on the anti-opium movement. A better specimen of American smartness and Chinese astuteness could hardly be produced than this crafty and ridiculous clause. The stipulation that Chinese subjects should not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States is of course absolute nonsense. If the American Government had really intended to prohibit opium from being imported from China into the United States they should not have confined the prohibition to Chinese subjects, but have extended it to all nationalities; in fact, to have made Indian opium contraband. To explain this point more clearly, you will remember what I have mentioned before, that the exclusive right to manufacture crude opium into the form used for smoking, called in China "prepared opium," is farmed out. The present farmer pays the Government of Hong Kong 205,000 dollars, or £40,000 a year for the monopoly. The reason why he pays so large a sum for this privilege is not merely to get the exclusive right of preparing and selling the drug in Hong Kong, for if that were all the benefit to be derived from the monopoly he would

not give so large a rent for it. The greater source of profit arises from the fact that the Chinese must have the beloved stimulant wherever they roam. If you go to the Philippine Islands, Borneo, or the town of Saigon in French Cochin China, or wherever else dollars are to be made, you will find Chinese in abundance. Go to the South Seas, go to the Sandwich or the Fiji Islands, you will discover the Chinese happy and prosperous, and you will always see in their houses the opium pipe.

The advantage of having the exclusive privilege in Hong Kong of preparing and selling opium consists in this, that it is the terminus of the American lines of steamers which ply direct with Japan and San Francisco. There are other British lines of steamers running from Hong Kong to Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. These packets always take with them consignments of prepared opium ready for smoking, because at these places there are large and well-to-do Chinese communities who can afford to indulge in the national luxury of opium smoking. I have told you already that I was for about ten years solicitor for that opium firm, and I happen to know a great deal about the prepared opium case through that means. The Chinese in California, where there is an immense Chinese population, do not consume less, I should suppose, in the course of a year than £100,000 worth of prepared opium. They have better means there to buy the drug than they would have at home. They get high wages, keep shops, are excellent tradesmen, and can live and make money where

a European would starve. They are all, in fact, well-to-do, and wherever a Chinaman has the money he must have his opium pipe. Therefore the privilege of supplying the Chinese in California, in Australia, where there is also a very great number of Chinese, and in the South Sea Islands, is enjoyed by the opium farmer of Hong Kong, because he has there the means of shipping the drug by steamers direct to those places. This trade, notwithstanding the treaty, is still going on, and not one ounce of opium less than was shipped before its ratification is now being carried to San Francisco in American bottoms, for the treaty only says that no *Chinaman* shall import opium into America; but there is no prohibition against Americans or Europeans doing so. What the opium farmer does, if indeed he has not always done so, is to get an American or other merchant in Hong Kong to ship the drug for him in his own name, handing him, the opium farmer, the bill of lading. The opium is accordingly shipped in the name of Brown, Jones, or Robinson, and on its arrival at San Francisco the opium farmer's consignee takes possession of it, and it is distributed by him among his countrymen in that flourishing city.

If Mr. Pease were not an enthusiast, ready to swallow without hesitation everything which seems to tell against the opium traffic, and to disbelieve everything said or written on the other side of the question; he would have seen through all this as a matter of course. This is what he said about the treaty in his last annual opium speech, which was made, I think, in

May, 1881. He first delivered a philippic on the enormities and terrible wickedness of the traffic, and he then went on as follows : “ Only last year a treaty was entered into between the United States and China, and one of the articles of that treaty distinctly stated that the opium trade was forbidden, and that no American ship should become an opium trader—a fact which showed that the Chinese authorities were honest in their expressed desire to put an end to the trade.” Mr. J. W. Pease is the most confiding of men ; to my mind the treaty should be construed in a very different sense. Sometimes, when we want to convey an unpleasant truth to another, we do so indirectly. There is a very well understood method of attaining an object. Instead of opening your mind to Mr. Jones, you will in Mr. Jones’s presence address your remarks to Mr. Brown ; but in reality, though you are speaking to the latter, you are speaking *at* the former. Now the whole object of this precious treaty was to play a similar piece of finesse. Both nations well understood what they were about ; they were simply trying to hoodwink and make fools of John Bull by putting into the treaty this clause, which each party well knew meant nothing to the other. Here is Mr. Pease, that sensible and astute man of business, with his eyes open falling into the trap set for him, and allowing himself to be deceived by this transparent piece of humbug, and quoting in the House of Commons this “bogus” treaty as evidence that the Indo-China opium trade is infamous, and that both the Chinese and Americans want to have

it abolished on moral grounds. I give you this as an example of the lengths to which sensible gentlemen will go when smitten with opium-phobia, and how oblivious they become under such circumstances to actual facts. Imagine how Li Hung Chang and his confrères and Brother Jonathan must have enjoyed the fun of being able to so completely bamboozle an English Member of Mr. Pease's reputation.

I was much amused by a letter which recently appeared in the *Times*. The writer is a gentleman of high standing, who had formerly been in China, and ought to have known better. He said that out of one hundred missionaries in China there was not one who would receive a convert into his church until he had made a vow against opium smoking. Bearing in mind that all these so-called converts belong for the most part to the very poor, if not to the dregs of the people, I should think no missionary clergyman would find much difficulty in obtaining such a pledge. He has only to ask and to have. If you went down to a very poor neighbourhood in the East End of London, and proposed to some of the congregations there, that they should promise never to drink champagne, you would receive such a pledge without difficulty from one and all; but if any kind person were afterwards to give them a banquet of roast beef and plum-pudding, with plenty of champagne to wash those good things down, I am afraid their vow would be found to have been very elastic.

So it is with the congregations of these missionary clergymen; there is not an individual amongst them

who would refuse to enjoy the opium pipe if he got the chance. Opium, as the missionaries must well know, is a luxury that can only be indulged in by those who have the means of paying for it. Now, while twopence or threepence may appear to us a very insignificant sum, such will not be the opinion of a very poor person. Threepence will purchase a loaf of bread. So it is with the Chinese, especially those residing in their own territory. There is only one class of coin current in China. It is known by Europeans as "cash." Ten should equal a cent, or a halfpenny, but owing to the inferiority of the metal they are made of, twelve or thirteen usually go to make one cent, so that ten cents, or fivepence of our money, would be about 65 cash. A poor Chinaman possessing that sum would think he had got hold of quite a pocketful of money, and so it would prove, as far as regards a little rice or salt fish, which forms a Chinaman's daily food; but were he so foolish as to indulge in opium, a few whiffs of the pipe would soon swallow up the whole. And then there arises the difficulty of getting the cash, so that it is really only people having command of a fair amount of money who can afford to indulge, habitually at all events, in the luxury of opium smoking. These persons know what pleases the missionaries, and so they detail to them all kinds of horrible stories respecting opium smoking, which, as I have before stated, are pure inventions. Trust a Chinaman to invent a plausible tale when it suits his purpose to do so. The missionaries do not smoke opium themselves, and

have therefore no means of refuting the falsehoods thus related to them, or of testing their accuracy. They, however, believe all these stories, and send them on to head-quarters in London, to be retailed by eloquent tongues at Exeter Hall and elsewhere. I have no doubt that every mail brings home numbers of apparently highly authenticated tales of this kind. Thanks to the modern excursion agents, and to the general facilities for travelling now existing, gentlemen can easily take a trip to China, and if any of them happen to have opium on the brain, they will take letters of introduction to missionary clergymen. On their arrival at Hong Kong they will perhaps be shown over the Tung-Wah or a missionary hospital, where they will see a number of wretched objects labouring under all kinds of diseases; they will go away fully impressed with the belief that all the patients shown to them are victims of opium smoking. They are then taken to an opium shop, and are there shown half a dozen dirty-looking men, mostly thieves and blackguards, all smoking opium, and as they are quiet and motionless, they come to the conclusion that they are all in a dying state, having but a few days to live. If they knew the facts, they would find perhaps that the very men they were commiserating were just then quietly planning a burglary or a piratical expedition for that very night. These kind of travellers go out to China with preconceived notions, and are quite prepared to believe everything, however absurd or monstrous, about opium smoking. They will spend two days at

Hong Kong, three at Canton, two or three at Shanghai. They will take copious notes, and return home with a full conviction that they have "done China," when in reality they have only done themselves, and that, too, most completely. If they have the *cacoethes scribendi* strong upon them, they will probably write a book upon the subject, and so the miserable delusion is kept up.

'Tis pleasant, sure, to see one's name in print;
A book's a book, although there's nothing in't.

Mr. Turner, in his volume, gives what he calls "a little apologue," with the object of showing how the Indian Government injures China by supplying it with opium. If you will allow me, I will give you a short one, too. Let us suppose a young gentleman, well brought up, and a member of that excellent institution the "Young Men's Christian Association," where he has heard the most eloquent speeches on the wickedness of opium smoking, and, of course, on the Indo-China opium trade, by people who knew nothing whatever that was accurate upon the subject. Let us call him Mr. Howard; it is a good name, and was once owned by a most benevolent man. He makes up his mind to go out to China and to see for himself the whole iniquity: for he can hardly believe that his own countrymen could really be the perpetrators of such dreadful wickedness as he has been told. He takes a letter of introduction to a missionary gentleman at Hong Kong, and another to a mercan-

tile firm there. He expects, on his arrival, to see the streets crowded with the wretched-looking victims of the opium pipe, crawling onwards towards their graves, whilst the merchant who is making his princely fortune by this terrible opium trade drives by in his curricule, looking complacently at his victims, just as a slave-owner of old might be expected to have gazed at his gangs of slaves wending their way to their scene of toil. Not seeing any but active, healthy-looking people, he concludes that the miserable creatures he is looking out for are in hospital, or lying up in their own houses. He calls upon Messrs. Thompson and Co., the mercantile firm to which he is accredited, and is well received by one of the partners, who invites him to stop at his house during his stay in Hong Kong, for our fellow-countrymen in China are the most hospitable people in the world. Mr. Howard declines, as he intends putting up at Mr. Jenkins's, his missionary friend. The great subject on his mind is opium, so he comes to the point at once, and asks, "Is there much opium smoked in the colony?" "Oh, plenty," answers Mr. Thompson; "two or three thousand chests arrive here every week." "Do you sell much?" Mr. Howard asks. "No; we haven't done anything in it these many years," is the response. "Do many people smoke?" continues Howard, following up his subject. "Oh, yes; every Chinaman smokes." "But where are all the people who are suffering from opium smoking?" again asks the inquirer, determined to get at the facts. "Ha,

ha, ha!" laughs Mr. Thompson, but that gentleman is writing letters for the mail, and has not much time at his disposal. "Here, Compradore," he says, addressing a Chinese who has been settling an account with one of the assistants, "this gentleman wants to know all about opium smoking." The Compradore is the agent who conducts the transactions between the foreign firms and the Chinese; he resides on his master's premises, and is usually an intelligent and keen man of business. The two try to make themselves understood. Mr. Howard repeats the same questions to the Compradore that he had just put to Mr. Thompson, and receives the same answers. Mr. Howard, disappointed and surprised, calls with his letter of introduction upon the missionary, to whom he tells what he has heard from Messrs. Thompson. "Ah," says the missionary, "they wouldn't give you any information there; they are in the opium trade themselves." But Mr. Howard tells him that Thompson had assured him that they had not been in the trade for years. "Ah," returns the missionary, "you must not believe what he says. His firm is making a princely fortune by opium." "But where are the smokers?" asks Howard. "Oh, I will show them to you." He then calls the servant, or "boy," as the term is in China. "This gentleman," he says to the latter, "wants to know about opium smoking. Take him to the Tung-Wah and to an opium shop, you savee?" "Yes, my savee" (meaning I understand), returns the boy, who is, of course, a devout convert, but who in private often

indulges in the iniquity of the pipe. On they go to the Tung-Wah, which is a Chinese hospital, where he is shown some ghastly-looking men, all either smoking the "vile drug" or having opium pipes beside them. Two or three are shivering with ague; another is in the last stage of dropsy; another is in consumption, and so on. They are all pitiable-looking objects, wasted, dirty, and ragged. Poor Mr. Howard shrinks away in horror. "Are all these men dying from opium smoking?" he asks of his guide. "Yes, ebely one; two, tree more days dey all die. Oh! velly bad!" says the person questioned, well knowing that what he has said is false, and that the poor creatures before him are only honest, decent coolies in the last stages of disease, who until they entered the hospital may never have had an opium pipe in their mouths. "Their poverty and not their will consented." They had been admitted but a few days before to the Tung-Wah, where the Chinese doctor had prescribed for them opium smoking as a remedy for their sickness and a relief for their pains. Poor Mr. Howard leaves the hospital bitterly reflecting upon the wickedness of the world and of his own countrymen in particular. He and his guide then proceed to the opium shop. I shall, however, proceed there before them, and describe to you the place and its occupants. Opposite to the door are two well-dressed men, their clothes quite new, their heads well shaven, and having attached to them long and splendid queues. These men are lying on their sides, vis-à-vis, with their heads slightly

raised, smoking away. If it were not for their villainous countenances they might pass for respectable shopkeepers. They are two thieves, who have just committed a burglary in a European house, from which they carried off three or four hundred pounds' worth of jewellery, and they are now indulging in their favourite luxury on the proceeds. They have also exchanged their rags for new clothes, got shaven and trimmed, as Mr. Howard saw them. Now, wherever an extreme opium smoker is met, he will be generally found to be one of the criminal classes. In this shop there are three other men smoking. They are stalwart fellows, but dirty-looking, as they have just finished coaling a steamer, and are begrimed with coal dust. As the daily expenses of a steamer are considerable, it is a great object with sea captains to get their vessels coaled as quickly as possible, so that they may not be delayed in port. The men employed upon this work are usually paid by the job, and probably each will receive half-a-dollar for his share. They work with extraordinary vigour, and by the time they have finished they are often much distressed, and are inclined to lie down; their hearts, perhaps, are beating irregularly, and their whole frame unhinged. Being flush of money, for half-a-dollar, or two shillings, is quite a round sum for them, they have decided to go to the opium shop, and, by having a quiet whiff or two, bring the action of their hearts into rhythm, and restore themselves to their ordinary state. These poor coolies are honest fellows enough. They work hard, and are peaceful, unof-

fending creatures. Hundreds of them are to be seen hard at work every day in Hong Kong.

The interior of the opium shop is as described when Mr. Howard enters with the missionary's servant. The moment the two well-dressed thieves see them, their guilty consciences make them conclude that the one is a European and the other a Chinese detective in disguise in search of them. They close their eyes and pretend to be in profound slumber. They are in deadly fear of apprehension, for escape seems impossible. Mr. Howard asks his guide, "Who are they?" "Oh, dese plaupa good men; dey come dis side to smokee. To-day dey smokee one pipe; to-morrow dey come and smokee two, tree pipe; next day four or five; den dey get sik and die. Oh, opium pipe vely bad." "You say they are good, respectable men?" says Mr. Howard. "Yes, good plaupa men." "Oh, is not this a terrible thing?" says Mr. Howard, compressing his lips, breathing heavily, and vowing to bear witness to all the villainy he has seen on his return to London. The three men begrimed with coal dust, although they appear only to be semi-conscious, are in reality taking the measure of Mr. Howard, and enjoying a quiet laugh at his expense. One remarks, referring to his chimney-pot hat, "What a funny thing that Fan-Qui has got on his head!" The other replies, "It's to keep the sun away." "How funny!" retorts the first speaker, "we wear hats to keep our heads warm; they wear hats to keep their heads cool." "Oh," returns the

other speaker, "the Fan-Qui have such soft heads that if they did not keep the sun off the little brains they have would melt away; and they would die, or become idiots."* Mr. Howard, seeing them in their dirty condition, concludes that they are the wretched victims of opium smoking, in the last stage of disease, and leaves with his conductor, pitying them from the depths of his heart; his pity, however, is as nothing compared to the contempt with which these supposed victims to the opium pipe regard him and his chimney-pot hat. As he leaves he asks his guide, "Does the keeper of the opium shop expect a gratuity?" "Oh," returns the other, "supposee you pay him one dolla, he say, tankee you." Mr. Howard accordingly gives a dollar to the man, who looks more surprised than grateful, and he leaves the shop, satisfied that he has at last seen the true effects of opium smoking in China.

He returns to the missionary, to whom he relates the horrors he has seen, makes copious notes of them, and vows to enlighten his countrymen at home upon the subject. As for his guide, the missionary's servant, this person loses no time in returning to the opium shop, where he makes the keeper of it share with him the dollar he has just received, and having so easily made two shillings, he quietly reclines on one of the couches and takes a whiff or two of the pipe, the more enjoyable because it is forbidden fruit. Thus the benevolent British public is befooled by these ridiculous stories about opium. To prove to you that

* As a matter of fact the skull of a Chinaman is fully double the thickness of that of a European.

the missionaries are deceived in the way I have described I will refer you to a passage in Mr. Turner's book, where he admits that one of his own converts, who had assured him that he never smoked, and no doubt pledged himself never to do so, was found regaling himself with the iniquity. At page 32 Mr. Turner says, "I have caught a man smoking who had only half an hour before denied to me that he was a smoker, and condemned the habit." Yet such are the men from whom the missionaries derive their information about opium smoking. For further proof of this I refer you to Dr. Ayres, who, in a number of *The Friend of China* published in 1858, describes an inspection which he made of the Tung-Wah Hospital, where he found patients smoking opium for the first time in their lives under the advice of Chinese doctors, yet whom European visitors afflicted with the anti-opium mania considered victims to opium smoking undergoing a curing process! Thus it has come to pass that whilst the missionary clergymen, owing to their sacred calling and their unquestionably high character, are accepted as the most reliable witnesses and entitled to the greatest credit, they are really the men who are the very worst informed upon the opium question which they profess to so thoroughly understand. They are, in fact, the victims of their own delusions.

The first of the fallacies that I mentioned in my previous lecture is "*that opium smoking in China is now, and always was, confined to a small per-centage of*

the population, which per-centage has increased and is increasing, owing to the introduction into China of Indian opium." I have already gone over a good deal of the evidence upon this point, but really it appears to me that the best testimony upon the subject is that of Mr. Turner himself. He says, at page 13 of his book, "Everywhere, in all climates, on every soil, in every variety and condition of circumstances throughout that vast empire, the Chinese smoke opium, but nowhere do they all smoke. The smokers are but a per-centage, greater or smaller, in different places." Afterwards, on page 29 of his work, he admits that there are no statistics on the subject in China; how, therefore, he can have arrived at the conclusion I have quoted is more than I can possibly conceive. It suits his views to put it forward, but he offers no evidence in support of it.

Now, the Yellow-book of Mr. Hart, to which I have referred in the former lecture, offers all the evidence on this subject that is really wanted. It is admitted on both sides that opium smoking is more or less prevalent throughout every province of China, on every soil, whether in the valleys or on the hills and mountains. Mr. Hart sent out a circular to the foreign Commissioners of Customs at all the Treaty Ports in China, Hainan and Formosa,—two large islands lying off the south and south-east coast of China,—and the returns show that there are several opium smoking shops in each of these Treaty Ports, and that the gross quantity of Indian opium imported into China is about 100,000 chests. The returns also

reveal the facts that in almost every case foreign opium is used for mixing with the native drug, which is of inferior quality; that a large amount of native opium is grown and sold; and that the custom of opium smoking is more or less universal. Suppose we take the case of Canton, as being a very large city. We may find, perhaps, two or three hundred opium shops there, but the people who attend them are not the better class of Chinese. They are exactly the same class of people who frequent the drinking shops of London and other large cities in England. The respectable, well-to-do people in Canton, who can afford to keep the drug in their own houses, would not enter an opium shop any more than a respectable person here would go into a public-house. If a stranger in London looked into the public-houses and saw people drinking there, he would come to a false conclusion if he thought that none but the frequenters of such places drank beer, spirits, or wine. We know that in almost every private house here, there is more or less liquor of all kinds kept and consumed. The drinking shops furnish a mere indication of the amount of alcoholic liquors drunk in a town. It is exactly the same with the opium shops. They show the prevalence of the custom throughout the country. If you find two hundred opium shops in Canton, and I am certain there are not fewer there, you may be not less sure that opium is smoked in the great majority of private and business houses in Canton. It is the same in all the Treaty Ports. The opium smoking shops in China

may be counted by hundreds and thousands, because China is as large as Europe, and much more populous.

Mr. Hart's Report is very valuable, and forms in itself a complete answer to the false and unfounded allegations of the Anti-Opium Society. It is not likely that he would exaggerate the amount of opium grown or smoked in China. There are a great many other important ports in China besides the twenty ports with which foreigners are not allowed to trade; and in the interior of the country there are immense and numerous cities and towns, large, thriving and densely populated, where the opium pipe is used as freely as the tobacco pipe is with us. The provinces in which opium is most grown are Szechuen and Yün-Nan, two of the largest of the eighteen provinces constituting China proper. These are the two great western provinces; but it is also grown in the eastern and central provinces, in fact, all over the country. Though there are no certain statistics there cannot be a doubt that opium smoking is more prevalent in the interior provinces than on the coast, because it is there that the most opium is grown, and it is but reasonable to infer that where opium is largely cultivated, especially in a country like China, having no railroads and few ordinary roads, there you will find it to be most consumed. Upon this point I would refer to a most authoritative work by Captain Gill, R.E.* At page 235 of vol. ii. Captain Gill says:—"As we had such vague ideas of the distance before

* "The River of Golden Sand; the Narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Thibet to Burmah," by Capt. William Gill, R.E.

us we were anxious to make an early start, but we were now in Yün-Nan, the province of China in which there is more opium smoked than in any other, and in which it is proportionately difficult to move the people in the morning. There is a Chinese proverb to the effect that there is an opium pipe in every house in the province of Kwei-Chou, but one in every room in Yün-Nan, which means that men and women smoke opium universally." That is the report of a man who was not only a sagacious and close observer of all that he saw in his interesting journey, but who is wholly impartial and disinterested on the subject of opium smoking. Mr. Hart does not purport to give in this book correct returns of the quantity of opium smoked or imported, much less of the quantity grown in China. The replies of his subordinates at the different ports, many of them seven hundred or a thousand miles apart, all concur in speaking of the great difficulties they had in getting any figures at all. They are, therefore, not to be taken as absolutely trustworthy, and Mr. Hart candidly admits that they are mere approximations. Before I had seen Mr. Hart's book I had made a calculation of the probable number of opium smokers in China, on the assumption that the population of China proper was 360,000,000, and that the custom was universal, limited only by the means of procuring the drug; and I arrived at the conclusion that there were in China 3,000,000 of habitual smokers and about the same number of occasional smokers. Mr. Lennox Simpson, Commissioner at Chefoo, in reply to Mr. Hart's

circular, says, at page 13 of the Yellow-book: "Much difficulty has been experienced in eliciting answers to the various questions put to the native opium shops and others, all viewing with suspicion any inquiries made, evidently fearing that some prohibition is about to be put on the trade, or that their interests are in some way to suffer. *Hence some of the figures given in the return can scarcely be considered reliable, although every pains has been taken to collect information.*" These commissioners are all gentlemen of good standing and education, and they have a great many subordinates under them, so that they possess means of collecting information such as no foreigner, not engaged in the public service of China, could possibly command. Mr. Francis W. White, the Commissioner at Hankow, replied, "Owing to the entire absence of all reliable figures, the amount of opium put down as produced within the province and within the empire yearly, must be taken as approximate only. I have been careful to collect information from various sources, and this has been as carefully compared and verified as means will allow." Mr. Holwell, the Commissioner at Kiukiang, wrote: "The total quantity of unprepared native opium, said to be produced yearly in the province of Kiangsi, I find it next to impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty. Native testimony differs."

I will point out by-and-by the reason why these returns are so unreliable. The most extraordinary of them all is the return of Mr. E. B. Drew, the Commissioner at Ningpo, and Mr. H. Edgar, the Com-

missioner at Ichang. The former estimates the entire quantity of native opium grown and consumed in China at 265,000 chests, the latter at only 25,000, less than a tenth of Mr. Drew's estimate. In the face of all these discrepancies, Mr. Hart takes an arbitrary figure and says, in effect, there is, at least, as much opium produced in China itself as is imported into China. With the knowledge I possess of the Chinese and the opium trade generally, from the calculations I have made, and by the light thrown upon the question by Mr. Hart's Yellow-book, I am induced to come to the conclusion that 265,000 chests is much nearer the mark than 100,000 chests. The reason the Chinese opium dealers have been so reticent in affording information to the Commissioners of Customs at these Treaty Ports is, that they are afraid to do so, fearing if they gave correct information, they might in so doing furnish weapons for squeezing them, or for placing taxes and other restrictions on their trade; for the Government officials in China, from the highest to the lowest, are, as I have before said, the most corrupt, cruel, and unscrupulous body of men in the whole world. Mr. Turner has told us that the Chinese Government is a paternal one, exercising a fatherly care of its people, and always exhorting them to virtue. Nothing can be more fallacious than this. Theoretically, there is much that is good in the system of government in China, but practically it is quite the reverse. There is little sympathy between the supreme Government and the great body of the people. The Emperor, his family,

and his suite, are all Tartars, quite another race from the Chinese,, differing totally in customs, manners, dress, and social habits. The Governor or Viceroy is pretty much an absolute sovereign within his province. He has under him a host of officials, commonly known as Mandarins, who are generally the most rapacious and corrupt of men; their salaries in most cases are but nominal, for they are expected to pay themselves, which they well understand how to do. Their system of taxation is irregular and incomplete, and the process of squeezing is openly followed all over the country. There is nothing a Chinese dreads so much as disclosing his pecuniary circumstances. If he admitted that he cultivated fifty acres of opium, or bought 100 pikuls of opium in a year, his means and his profits could be arrived at by a simple process of arithmetic, and although he might feel sure that so far as Mr. Hart and the foreign Commissioners were concerned, no wrong need be apprehended, yet he is so distrustful and suspicious, that he would fear lest the facts should reach the ears of the higher Chinese officials through the native subordinates in the Commissioners' Offices.

The Chinese, therefore, never will tell the amount or value of their property, or the profits they are making by their businesses. They fear being plundered; that is the simple fact. I knew a respectable man in Hong Kong, the possessor of considerable house property there, a man who would be called wealthy even in England. Some years ago, when at Canton, where

he had a house, a Mandarin suddenly arrested and put him into prison. What a Chinese prison is you will find in Dr. Gray's book. It is not the place where a paternal Government ought to put the worst of criminals, or even a wild beast. The man had committed no crime, and had done nothing whatever to warrant this treatment; in vain he asked what he had been put in prison for, and demanded to be confronted with his accusers, if there were any. His gaolers shrugged their shoulders and gave him no answer. He was kept there for two or three months. Ultimately he received a hint, which he recognized as an official intimation, that unless he came down handsomely, as the phrase is, and that speedily, he would lose his head. He took the hint, made the best bargain he could, and ultimately had to pay 70,000 dollars, or about £14,000, for his release. There never was any accusation brought against him. I knew another man, living at Swatow, who had made a great deal of money in trade. He bought a large piece of foreshore at that place, which he reclaimed and turned into profitable land. A Military mandarin living there thought him a fair object for a squeeze; the same process was gone through as in the case I have before mentioned; but this man, not having the same wisdom as the other, held fast to his dollars. The result was that a false charge of kidnapping, alleged to have been committed twenty years before, was brought against him, and he was taken out and beheaded. That is the way money is raised by the governors and their

subordinates in China. So much for Mr. Turner's benign and paternal Government. There is no regular Income Tax in China, but there is a Property Tax levied in the way I have mentioned. The Chinese authorities will let a man go on making money for many years, and when they think he has accumulated sufficient wealth, they pounce down upon him and demand as much as they think they can extort. That is the reason the Chinese opium dealers are so reticent when inquiries are made concerning opium. If the Commissioners at the Treaty Ports had got fair returns, I have no doubt that it is not 100,000 pikuls of native opium Mr. Hart would have estimated as the quantity of opium grown in China, but probably three or four times that amount.

Within the past few days I read an interesting and instructive passage from Sir Rutherford Alcock's paper, to which I referred in my first Lecture. Sir Rutherford is referring to Dr. Medhurst, and says:—"I may say here, that although most of the staple arguments and misleading opinions on opium and its disastrous effects come from the missionaries in China, whose good faith I do not question, there is no stronger protest against exaggerated and sensational statements on record than has been supplied by one of their number, the late Dr. Medhurst, of whom it has been truly said, he was 'one of the most able, experienced, zealous missionaries in China.' Opposed in principle to the opium trade in all its aspects, his statements will be readily accepted as unimpeachable evidence. The following remark appears

in an official paper, forwarded to the Chief Superintendent of Trade at Hong Kong in 1855. Alluding to a speech of an American missionary who had visited England, and was reported to have told the British public 'that the smokers of the contraband article have increased from eight to fifteen millions, yielding an annual death harvest of more than a million,' and further characterizing the traffic as 'staining the British name in China with the deepest disgrace,' Dr. Medhurst observes, '*such statements do great harm; they produce a fictitious and groundless excitement in the minds of the religious and philanthropic public at home, while they steel against all reasonable and moderate representations, the minds of the political and mercantile body abroad. The estimate given has not even the semblance of truth; it is an outrageous exaggeration.*' And yet in a memorial presented to Lord Clarendon by two distinguished and justly respected noblemen, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Chichester, on the extent of the opium trade in 1855, these, and still more 'outrageous exaggerations' appear with the authority of their names. Lord Shaftesbury officializes the estimate that 20,000,000 of Chinese are opium smokers, and assumes that of this number one-tenth, that is 2,000,000, die yearly, and states it as 'an appalling fact.' Appalling, indeed! But what if it be a mere figment of the imagination, and absolutely devoid, as Dr. Medhurst says, of a semblance of truth?"

This is the stuff upon which the benevolent public have been fed for the last twenty years, or more, by

the opium-phobists. No wonder that the Anti-Opium Society can raise £50,000 so easily, for the British public is a generous and benevolent one, which will subscribe its gold readily where a proper object presents itself; sad, indeed it is, that in the present case its munificence represents so much money wasted.

I think it is now perfectly clear, not only from Mr. Hart's official volume, the book I have so often referred to, but from Mr. Turner's own admission, that opium is smoked generally throughout China, the only limit to its use being the means of procuring the article.

LECTURE III.

IN my last lecture I dealt with the fallacy that opium smoking in China was confined to a small per-centage of the people, which had been steadily increasing since the introduction into China of Indian opium.

I now proceed to discuss fallacy number 2—that “*opium smoking is injurious to the system, more so than spirit drinking.*” I think I shall show most clearly that exactly the reverse is the case. With this it will be convenient to take fallacy No. 4, which is a kindred one, namely, that *opium smoking and opium eating are equally hurtful.* Before proceeding further, it may be stated that opium is admitted by physicians in all countries to be an invaluable medicine, for which there is no known substitute.

Pereira thus describes it :—“ Opium is undoubtedly the most important and valuable remedy of the whole *Materia Medica*. For other medicines we have one or more substitutes, but for opium none,—at least in the large majority of cases in which its peculiar and beneficial influence is required. Its good effects are not, as is the case with some valuable medicines, remote and contingent, but they are immediate, direct, and obvious, and its operation is not attended with pain

or discomfort. Furthermore it is applied, and with the greatest success, to the relief of maladies of everyday occurrence, some of which are attended with acute human suffering." The Anti-Opium Society and their followers allege that dram-drinking is not only less baneful than opium smoking, but they say that the latter practice so injures the constitution, and has such extraordinary attractions for those who indulge in it, that it is impossible to get rid of the habit, and that in effect, whilst drunkards can be reformed, opium smokers cannot. This is absolutely untrue. As the statement has been boldly put forward not only by a large section of the advocates of the Anti-Opium Society, but also by its champion, the Rev. Mr. Storrs Turner, in particular, that opium smoking and opium eating are equally injurious, it is of the first necessity that the great difference between these two practices should be clearly shown. In the appendix to that gentleman's book there is a mass of evidence, of which a large portion is quite beside the question, for it applies to opium eating, a practice totally different from opium smoking. So far as regards the former, the best medical authorities are, I believe, divided as to whether opium eating or drinking in moderation is injurious to the system at all. At all events, opium eating is not the question in point nor the subject of these Lectures, which is opium smoking in China.

The effect of continual spirit drinking upon the system, leaving actual drunkenness and its conse-

quences aside, is that it produces organic changes in the system, by acting upon what medical men call the "microscopic tissues" of which the whole human frame is made up; also poisoning the blood, which then, instead of being a healthy fluid coursing freely through the frame and invigorating the entire system, flows sluggishly, producing organic changes in the blood vessels, inducing various diseases according to the constitution and tendencies of the individual. Three of the most usual diseases to which the habitual dram drinker is subject are: liver disease, fatty degeneration of the heart, and paralysis. There is not a medical student of three months' experience who could not, if you entered a dissecting-room, point you out "a drunkard's liver." The moment he sees that fearful object he knows at once that the wretched being to whom it belonged had, by continued indulgence in spirits, ruined his constitution and health, and brought himself to an untimely end. There is another serious consequence arising from habitual drinking. Not only does the habit irreparably ruin the general health so that cure is impossible, but it induces insanity, and I believe I am not beyond the mark in stating that thirty per cent. at the least of the lunatics in our various asylums throughout the country have become insane from over-indulgence in alcohol. Dr. Pereira, in his celebrated "*Materia Medica*," states that out of 110 cases occurring in male patients admitted into the Hanwell Lunatic Asylum in 1840, no fewer than thirty-one were ascribed to intemperance, while thirty-four were

referred to combined causes of which intemperance was stated to be one; and yet Mr. Turner and his disciples say that spirit drinking is a less vice than opium smoking!

I need not remind you of the consequences to others besides the actual victims to spirit drinking, for that is unfortunately told too eloquently and but too vividly brought before us every day in the public newspapers. You will find that those acts of violence, those unfortunate cases that make one shudder to read, happening daily in this country—kicking wives, sometimes to death, beating and otherwise ill-using helpless children, violently attacking unoffending people in the streets—all are the results, more or less, of spirit drinking. Even the missionaries admit that opium smoking does not produce any of these evils. As I have said before, truth is natural to the human mind, and will reveal itself even where it is not directly relevant to the purpose. Mr. Turner does not venture to dispute this in his book, and I would call your attention to the passage. He says on page 33:—"Even between drunkenness and opium smoking there are perceptible distinctions. We must allow that opium smoking is a much more pacific and polite vice. The opium sot does not quarrel with his mate nor kick his wife to death; he is quiet and harmless enough while the spirit of the drug possesses him."

That is all true so far as the fact goes, but if the insinuation is intended that the Chinaman gets violent after the effect of the drug has passed away, there is

no foundation for it in fact. The Chinaman takes opium just because he likes it, and knowing it will act as a pleasing sedative. A man who is working hard all day in a tropical climate, whether at bodily or mental work, finds, towards the close of the day, his nervous system in an unsettled state, and looks for a stimulant, and the most harmless and most effectual one he can find is the opium pipe. When opium and opium smoking are better understood—and I believe the subject is only now in its infancy in this country—I feel convinced that medical men will largely prescribe opium smoking, not merely as a substitute for dram drinking, but as a curative agency that in many cases will be found invaluable. The regular and habitual opium smoker is seldom or never found to indulge in spirits at all. Stimulants of all kinds are so freely taken here that people never look upon them as a poison; but in point of fact they are a terrible poison, and a very active one too. Another medical work of very great authority is that by Dr. Taylor.* It has always received the greatest attention in courts of law; and it is also held in the highest estimation by the medical profession. At page 315, under the head of "Poisoning by Alcohol," he says:—

"The stomach has been found intensely congested or inflamed, the mucous membrane presenting in one case a bright red, and in another a dark red-brown colour. When death has taken place rapidly, there

* "The Principles and Practice of Medical Jurisprudence," by Alfred Swaine Taylor, M.D., F.R.S.

may be a peculiar odour of spirits in the contents ; but this will not be perceived if the quantity taken was small, or many hours have elapsed before the inspection is made. The brain and its membranes are found congested, and in some instances there is effusion of blood or serum beneath the inner membrane. In a case observed by Dr. Geoghegan, in which a pint of spirits had been taken and proved fatal in eight hours, black extravasation was found on the mucous membrane of the stomach ; but no trace of alcohol could be detected in the contents. The action of a strong alcoholic liquid on the mucous membrane of the stomach so closely resembles the effect produced by arsenic and other irritants, as easily to give rise to the suspicion of mineral irritant poisoning. A drawing in the museum collection of Guy's Hospital furnishes a good illustration of the local action of alcohol. The whole of the mucous membrane of the stomach is highly corrugated and is of a deep brownish-red colour. *Of all the liquids affecting the brain this has the most powerful action on the stomach.* A case of alcoholic poisoning of a child, æt. 7, referred to me by Mr. Jackaman, coroner for Ipswich, in July 1863, will serve to show the correctness of this remark. A girl was found at four o'clock in the morning lying perfectly insensible on the floor. She had had access to some brandy, which she had swallowed from a quartern measure, found near her empty. She had spoken to her mother only ten minutes before, so that the symptoms must have come on very rapidly. She was seen by Mr. Adams

four hours afterwards. She was then quite insensible, in a state of profound coma, the skin cold, and covered with a clammy perspiration. There had been slight vomiting. The child died in twelve hours, without recovering consciousness, from the time at which she was first found."

So far Dr. Taylor, a most competent authority on the subject, showing what alcohol is as a poison. Now alcohol, as I have before mentioned, effects an organic change in the system which opium, whether eaten or smoken, does not, and when spirits are indulged in to a certain extent, the disease produced is absolutely incurable, because it is impossible for any medical skill to give a man new tissues, new blood, a new stomach, or a new liver, where the whole substance and material of all has undergone a complete and ruinous change. Now the case as regards opium is totally different, because, no matter how much you indulge in opium, whether in eating or smoking, the effects produced are always curable. A man may smoke opium until, from want of appetite and impaired digestion, he seems sinking into the grave; he is, however, only labouring under functional derangement, which is always curable. The use of opium produces no organic change in the system whatever. Excessive eating or smoking opium will impair the appetite and digestion, but that is all. I have very competent medical authority for saying this. This fact places opium and alcohol in two entirely different categories. The one, if moderately indulged in, is beneficial, and if immoderately used

is comparatively innocuous ; while the other, if freely though not inordinately used, is, sooner or later, absolutely destructive to the system, acting upon the frame as a slow poison.

I will read you another extract from Dr. Pereira's book. At page 446, under the heading "Consequences of Habitual Drunkenness," he says:—
"The continued use of spirituous liquors gives rise to various morbid conditions of system, a few only of the most remarkable of which can be here referred to. One of these is the disease known by the various names of *delirium tremens*, *d. potatorum*, *oinomaptia*, etc., and which is characterized by delirium, tremor of the extremities, wakefulness, and great frequency of pulse. The delirium is of a peculiar kind. It usually consists in the imagined presence of objects which the patient is anxious to seize or avoid. Its pathology is not understood. It is sometimes, but not constantly, connected with or dependent on an inflammatory condition of the brain, or its membranes. Sometimes it is more allied to nervous fever. Opium has been found an important agent in relieving it. Insanity is another disease produced by the immoderate and habitual use of spirituous liquors."

So that this very opium, the mere smoking of which is so loudly denounced by the Anti-Opium Society, is a remedy for the horrible vice of drunkenness, which they and the missionaries treat as quite a secondary evil compared with opium smoking.

Now I do not think that, much as they have abused opium smoking, any of the anti-opium writers have

ever alleged insanity to be an effect or concomitant of opium smoking. It must therefore be taken as generally admitted that opium smoking, or even opium eating, does not produce insanity. We have, therefore, this undisputed fact, viz., that insanity and acts of violence do not result from opium smoking, whilst they are unquestionably produced by spirit drinking.

The whole purpose of Mr. Turner's book, and of the Anti-Opium Society, of which he is the Secretary, is to write down opium smoking in China, with the ultimate view of suppressing the Indo-China opium trade; and no man living is better aware that opium eating is not a practice with the Chinese; indeed, I doubt if it is known in China at all. Now, knowing all this, he gives, in his appendix, at page 240, extracts from some statement of Lieut.-Col. James Todd, who says:—"This pernicious plant (the poppy) has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues, and while it obscures these it heightens his vices, giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance which would otherwise beam with intelligence an air of imbecility."

Now that entirely relates to the *eating* of the drug by the Rajpoots of India. There is another quotation on the same page from Dr. Oppenheim, given in Pereira's "*Materia Medica*," as follows:—"The habitual *opium eater* is instantly recognized by his appearance: a total attenuation of body, a withered, yellow countenance, a lame gait, &c.," and so on. This, as you see, applies to opium eating only. There are many

other instances of the effects of opium eating given in the appendix, which, after these two quotations, it is useless to further repeat. Dr. Oppenheim's statement is completely refuted by Dr. Sir George Birdwood, a distinguished writer, whose long residence in India, and whose thorough acquaintance with the effects of opium eating and opium smoking, entitle his testimony to the highest consideration. Again, at page 8 of Mr. Turner's volume, reference is made to De Quincey's book on opium eating, intituled "The Confessions of an Opium Eater." Could anything be more disingenuous? De Quincey was an opium eater, not an opium smoker. Here is the passage from Mr. Turner's book to which I have referred:—"Those 'Confessions,' which are not confessions, but an *apologia pro vitâ suâ*, an elaborate essay to whitewash his reputation and varnish over the smirching blot of a self-indulgent habit by a glitter of a fascinating literary style."

Now did any one ever hear of such an extraordinary explanation of De Quincey's motives in publishing the "Confessions of an Opium Eater." De Quincey, he says, in effect, was ashamed of the practice of opium eating, and so he wrote the book as an excuse for his conduct—so horrible, disgraceful, and debasing, Mr. Turner would have it, is opium smoking. Such fallacious arguments must be apparent to the most simple mind. If a man has the misfortune to have contracted a disgraceful habit, such, for instance, as an indulgence in spirit drinking, attended occasionally with a fit of delirium tremens, the very last thing he

would do is to publish a book upon the subject, and thus acquaint the whole world with his infirmity. But, in point of fact, Mr. Turner is wrong in alleging that De Quincey was ashamed of opium eating; if he was, he unquestionably would not have written his book, which, by the way, is one of the most fascinating volumes in our literature. Previous to the publication of it, probably there were not more than half a dozen people who knew that he, De Quincey, was an opium eater, and in the preface to the work he says, "that his self-accusation does not amount to a confession of guilt." I know Mr. Turner to be a gentleman utterly incapable of wilfully acting disingenuously, much less of stating intentionally what he knew to be untrue; but he is so blinded by prejudice, his naturally clear intellect is so warped and distorted, and his reasoning powers and faculties are so perverted, by this opium question, that he does not see the difference between the two things, opium smoking and opium eating. But in this book of his he takes De Quincey, the opium eater, who confesses to having eaten 320 grains a day, and compares him with an opium-smoking Chinaman—some extraordinary phenomenon, who smoked the enormous quantity of 180 grains a day; the difference between eating 320 grains and smoking 180 grains a day being about as 500 is to 1. Such is the class of arguments with which the Anti-Opium Society and its credulous supporters are satisfied, and upon which the whole religious world, the country and the legislature, are called upon to come to the rescue, and abolish this Indo-China opium trade.

Now, against the two quotations taken from the appendix to Mr. Turner's book, I will give you another which tells against his case very strongly. It will be found in his book, and how he came to insert it I can only understand on the principle I have already mentioned, that truth is inherent in the human mind and will reveal itself occasionally even though it has to struggle through a mountain of prejudice and of warped understanding. This is it, from the evidence of Dr. Eatwell, First Assistant Opium Examiner in the Bengal service; it will be found on page 233:—"Having passed three years in China, I may be allowed to state the results of my observation, and I can affirm thus far, that the effects of the abuse of the drug do not come very frequently under observation, and that when cases do occur, the habit is frequently found to have been induced by the presence of some painful chronic disease, to escape from the sufferings of which the patient has fled to this resource. That this is not always the cause, however, I am perfectly ready to admit, and there are doubtless many who indulge in the habit to a pernicious extent, led by the same morbid impulses which induce men to become drunkards in even the most civilized countries; but these cases do not, at all events, come before the public eye. It requires no laborious search in civilized England to discover evidences of the pernicious effects of the abuse of alcoholic liquors; our open and thronged gin palaces, and our streets afford abundant testimony on the subject; but in China this open evidence of the evil effects of

opium is at least wanting. As regards the effects of the habitual use of the drug on the mass of the people, I must affirm that no injurious results are visible. The people generally are a muscular and well-formed race, the labouring portion being capable of great and prolonged exertion under a fierce sun, in an unhealthy climate. Their disposition is cheerful and peaceable, and quarrels and brawls are rarely heard amongst even the lower orders ; whilst in general intelligence they rank deservedly high amongst Orientals. I will, therefore, conclude with observing, that the proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects upon the constitution than does the moderate use of spirituous liquors ; whilst, at the same time, it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling in their effect upon the victim, and less disastrous to society at large, than are consequences of the abuse of the latter." Could any evidence against the allegations of the Anti-Opium Society be stronger than this? Have I not now a right to say, "Out of the mouth of thine own witness I convict thee !"

Now let us see what Dr. Ayres says upon the difference between opium eating and opium smoking. In an instructive article in *The Friend of China*, vol. iii. p. 217, he says:—"I have conducted my observations with much interest, as the effects of opium eating are well known to me by many years' experience in India, and I have been surprised to find the opium smoker differs so much from the opium eater. *I am inclined to the belief that in the popular mind*

the two have got confused together. Opium smoking bears no comparison with opium eating."

To further explain the difference between opium eating and opium smoking, let us take the familiar instance of tobacco smoking. It is not, I think, generally known that tobacco is a violent and almost instantaneous poison. A very small quantity of it admitted into the stomach produces speedy death, and it is a wonder to some eminent medical men that its use has not been made available by assassins for their foul and deadly purposes. Tobacco has no medicinal properties, it is simply known to chemists and medical men as an active poison. Its alkaloid, or active principle, is nicotine, a poison of so deadly and instantaneous a nature as to rank with aconite, strychnine, and prussic acid. Of the four, indeed, it takes the lead. In Taylor's "Medical Jurisprudence," to which I have already referred, it is laid down at page 321, under the head of "Poisoning by Tobacco":—"The effects which this substance produces when taken in a large dose, either in the form of powder or infusion, are well marked. The symptoms are faintness, nausea, vomiting, giddiness, delirium, loss of power in the limbs, general relaxation of the muscular system, trembling, complete prostration of strength, coldness of the surface with cold clammy perspiration, convulsive movements, paralysis and death. In some cases there is purging, with violent pain in the abdomen; in others there is rather a sense of sinking or depression in the region of the heart, passing into syncope, or creating

a sense of impending dissolution. With the above-mentioned symptoms there is dilatation of the pupils, dimness of sight with confusion of ideas, a small, weak, and scarcely-perceptible pulse, and difficulty of breathing. Poisoning by tobacco has not often risen to medico-legal discussion. This is the more remarkable as it is an easily accessible substance, and the possession of it would not, as in the case of other poisons, excite surprise or suspicion. In June, 1854, a man was charged with the death of an infant, of ten weeks, by poisoning it with tobacco. He placed a quantity of tobacco in the mouth of the infant, with the view, as he stated, of making it sleep. The infant was completely narcotized, and died on the second day. . . . Tobacco owes its poisonous properties to the presence of a liquid volatile alkaloid, *nicotina*." Whilst under the head "Nicotine," on the same page, he says:—"This is a deadly poison, and, like prussic acid, it destroys life in small doses with great rapidity. I found that a rabbit was killed by a single drop in three minutes and a half. In fifteen seconds the animal lost all power of standing, was violently convulsed in its fore and hind legs, and its back was arched convulsively." In Dr. Ure's "Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines," it is laid down, at page 250, under the head of "Nicotine:"—"This alkaloid is the active principle of the tobacco plant. . . . Nicotine is a most powerful poison, one drop put on the tongue of a large dog being sufficient to kill it in two or three minutes."

So much for tobacco and its alkaloid as deadly

poisons, yet we all know that tobacco smoking is a perfectly harmless practice, almost universally indulged in; the exception now being to find a man, young or old, gentle or simple, who is not a tobacco smoker. Most of our greatest thinkers, philosophers, poets, statesmen, and mathematicians smoke it, and always with advantage. Indulged in moderately, it does no injury to the constitution, but I should rather say its effects are curative and beneficial; you will rarely ever find a heavy tobacco smoker a drunkard or even a spirit drinker. Yet this plant, which gives comfort and delight to millions of people, is a deadly poison taken internally in its natural or manufactured state. So it is with opium; the habitual eating of it may be injurious, but the smoking is not only innocuous, but positively beneficial to the system. It is a complete preservative against dram drinking and drunkenness, for whilst it produces similar but far more agreeable effects on the brain than wine, it does not, like alcohol, poison the blood, destroy the health, and lead to ruin, disgrace, and death. It is plain, therefore, that opium smoking and opium eating cannot be classed in the same category at all, but stand apart separately and distinctly.

But pleasant as is tobacco smoking, I contend that opium smoking is not only a more agreeable but also a far more beneficial practice. Tobacco has no curative properties, but is simply a poison; opium is the most valuable medicine known; where all other sedatives fail its powers are prominent. As an anodyne no other medicine can equal it. There is one pro-

perty peculiar to opium, that is that opium is non-volatilizable, or nearly so. If a piece of opium is put on a red-hot plate, it will not volatilize; that is, it will not disappear in the form of vapour, which by chemical means can be preserved, in order to resume or retain its original character. But it will be destroyed by combustion; the heat will consume it in the same manner as it would destroy a piece of sugar or any other non-volatilizable body; whereas a substance that is volatilizable, like sulphur, on being subjected to the same process, instead of being destroyed, is simply given out in vapour, and by proper means may be caught again and reformed in the shape of sulphur. So when you place opium into a pipe and put the pellet to the lamp, the effect of the combustion is to destroy the active property of the opium; the smoker takes the smoke thrown off into his mouth, which he expels either through the mouth or nostrils. The only way, therefore, he can get any of the active property of the opium into his system is by smoking it like tobacco. Now tobacco, on the contrary, is volatilizable, but the poison is so volatile, and escapes so freely through the mouth of the pipe in the shape of vapour, and is so rapidly expelled, that no harm is produced by the process of smoking the poison. The difference between opium smoking and tobacco smoking appears to be this:—In the one case you take into your mouth the mere smoke of a valuable aromatic drug, which, when passed into the stomach as a medicine, has powerful curative properties, the smoke when

expelled leaving no substance behind it, but in its passage exerting a harmless and pleasant stimulating effect upon the nerves.

In the case of tobacco a foul and poisonous weed is taken, with no curative powers whatever, and having the most loathsome and offensive smell to those who have not gone through the pain and misery necessary to be able to smoke it. In the case of tobacco, both the smoke and the volatilizable substance of the weed is taken into the mouth, and in doing so we only escape poisoning by rapidly expelling both. Nicotine, the alkaloid of tobacco, is simply a deadly and rapid poison, useful only to the assassin. Morphia, the alkaloid of opium, is only poisonous when taken in an excessive quantity; whether used internally or injected under the skin, it is the most wonderful anodyne and sedative known. I fully believe that, when medical men come to study opium and opium smoking more fully, it will become the established opinion of the faculty that opium smoking is not only perfectly harmless, but that it is most beneficial, so that it will ultimately not only put down spirit drinking, but supersede tobacco altogether. I may here appropriately observe that we had once an Anti-Tobacco Smoking Society, just as there is now an Anti-Opium Smoking Society. The former had so many living evidences of the absurdities alleged by its supporters against the use of tobacco, that the agitation was laughed down and soon died a natural death; but had the place where the alleged enormity of tobacco smoking was practised, been Africa,

I think the Society would have died a much harder death. The Anti-Opium Society would have shared the same fate long ago were it not that the scene of all the alleged evils is China, ten thousand miles away, and the witnesses against their absurd allegations live the same distance from us. But still, believe me, the Anti-Opium Society's days are numbered : it is doomed, and, like the Anti-Tobacco craze, will be numbered soon amongst the things that were.

I had the advantage of reading a letter recently published in the *Times*, by Sir George Birdwood, to whom I have already referred ; he has had more than fourteen years' experience in India as a medical man, and has made the opium question a special study. I think his testimony is worth a great deal more than that of any layman, however learned or talented ; the one has both theoretical and practical knowledge of his subject, the other is only a theorist. Believe me, the Roman Poet knew human nature well when he said : "Trust the man who has experience of facts." The paper, which is a learned and interesting one, is too long to read, but here is an extract from it :—"My readers can judge for themselves from the authorities I have indicated ; but the opinion I have come to from them and my own experience is, that opium is used in Asia in a similar way to alcohol in Europe, and that, considering the natural craving and popular inclination for, and the ecclesiastical toleration of it and its general beneficial effects, and the absence of any resulting evil, there is just as much justification for the

habitual use of opium in moderation as for the moderate use of alcohol, and indeed far more.

“Sir Benjamin Brodie is always quoted as the most distinguished professional opponent of the dietetical use of opium; but what are his words (*‘Psychological Enquiries,’* p. 248):—‘The effect of opium when taken into the stomach is not to stimulate, but to soothe the nervous system. It may be otherwise in some instances, but these are rare exceptions to the general rule. The opium eater is in a passive state, satisfied with his own dreamy condition while under the influence of the drug. He is useless but not mischievous. It is quite otherwise with alcoholic liquors. Opium smoking, which is the Chinese form of using the drug—for which the Indian Government is specially held responsible—is, to say the least in its favour, an infinitely milder indulgence. As already mentioned, I hold it to be absolutely harmless. I do not place it simply in the same category with even tobacco smoking, for tobacco smoking may, in itself, if carried into excess, be injurious, particularly to young people under twenty-five; but I mean that opium smoking in itself is as harmless as smoking willow bark or inhaling the smoke of a peat fire or vapour of boiling water. . . . I have not seen Surgeon-General Moore’s recent paper on opium in the *Indian Medical Gazette*, but I gather from a notice of it quoted from the *Calcutta Englishman*, in the *Homeward Mail* of the 14th of November last, that it supplies a most exhaustive and able vindication of the perfect morality of the revenue derived

by the Indian Government from the manufacture and sale of opium to the Chinese. He quotes from Dr. Ayres, of Hong Kong: 'No China resident believes in the terrible frequency of the dull, sodden-witted, debilitated opium smoker met with in print;' and from Consul Lay:—'In China the spendthrift, the men of lewd habits, the drunkard, and a large assortment of bad characters, slide into the opium smoker; hence the drug seems to be chargeable with all the vices of the country.' Mr. Gregory, Her Majesty's Consul at Swatow, says Dr. Moore never saw a single case of opium intoxication, though living for months and travelling for hundreds of miles among opium smokers. Dr. Moore directly confirms my own statement of the Chinese having been great drunkards of alcohol before they took to smoking opium. I find also a remarkable collection of folk-lore ('Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio,' by Herbert A. Giles), evidence in almost every chapter of the universal drinking habits of the Chinese before the introduction of opium among them, notwithstanding that the use of alcohol is opposed to the cardinal precepts of Buddhism. What Dr. Moore says of the freedom of opium smokers from bronchial thoracic diseases is deserving of the deepest consideration. I find that, on the other hand, the Chinese converts to Christianity suffer greatly from consumption. The missionaries will not allow them to smoke, and, as they also forbid their marrying while young, after the wise custom, founded on an experience of thousands of years of their country, they fall into those depraved, filthy

habits, of which consumption is everywhere the inexorable witness and scourge. When spitting of blood comes on, the opium pipe is its sole alleviation."

I will now read you a passage from a valuable work by the learned Dr. J. L. W. Thudichum, Lecturer to St. George's Hospital,* which will throw a good deal of light upon this part of my lecture. At pp. 88 and 89 of the second volume he says :—" The medical uses of opium have been so well known through all historical times that it is a matter for surprise to find that they are not better appreciated in the present day. In this, as in many other matters, we are in fact only gradually emerging from the condition of those dark times during which, amongst many good things, the knowledge of opium, for example, was lost. . . . These and other considerations led me to look about for a more convenient mode of producing the effects of morphia without its inconveniences or even dangers. I knew from the experiments of Descharnes and Benard ('Compt. Rend.,' 40, 34) that in opium smoking a portion of the morphia is volatilized and undecomposed, and I therefore experimentalized with the pyrolytic vapours of opium, first upon myself, then upon others; and when I had made myself fully acquainted with the Chinese method of using the drug, I came to the conviction that here one of the most interesting therapeutical problems had been solved in the most ingenious and at the same time

* "Annals of Chemical Medicine, including the Application of Chemistry to Physiology, Pathology, Therapeutics, Pharmacy, Toxicology and Hygiene."

in the most safe manner. I held in my hand a power well known and used largely by Eastern races, yet its use neglected, ignored, denounced, and despised by the entire Western world." In other and non-professional words, Dr. Thudichum has found opium smoking not only harmless but a valuable curative practice.

I had recently some conversation on the subject of opium with a medical friend in large practice in London, and who has been in such practice for twenty years. I had previously spoken to him frequently on the same subject, and he has been kind enough to give me his views in a very interesting and concise manner. This opinion, I may tell you, is not paid for, or got up merely to support a particular purpose, as in the case of trials in the law courts. We all know that professional men, whether doctors, lawyers, surveyors, and others, are all more or less prone to take the views of the party requiring their services, and they accordingly will give opinions more or less coinciding with those views. It does not, however, follow that the persons doing so are guilty of any moral wrong, or that they write or state what they do not believe to be true; on the contrary, they fully believe in the statements they make. The natural bent of the mind is to lean towards the views urged by one's patient or client; and thus two physicians or lawyers of the highest standing and character will be found to express different opinions. But this statement with which I have been furnished stands on an entirely

different footing. There can have been no bias in the mind of the writer ; it is simply the result of study and experience. I have the most perfect confidence in this gentleman's opinions. He says :—" There is no organic disease traceable to the use of opium, either directly or indirectly, and whether used in moderate quantities or even in great excess. In other words, *there is no special disease associated with opium*. Functional disorder, more, or less, may be, and no doubt is, induced by the improper or unnecessary use of opium ; but this is only what may be said of any other cause of deranged health, such as gluttony, bad air, mental anxiety. . . .

" However great the functional disorder produced by opium, even when carried to great excess, may be, the whole effect passes off, and the bodily system is restored in a little while to a state of complete health, if the habit be discontinued. Alcohol, when taken in moderation, unquestionably benefits a certain number of individuals, but there are others whose systems will not tolerate the smallest quantities ; it acts upon them like a poison. But in the case of all persons when alcohol is taken in excess disease is sooner or later produced ; that disease consists of organic changes induced in the blood-vessels of the entire system, more especially the minute blood-vessels called the capillaries ; these become dilated, and consequently weakened in their coats, and eventually paralyzed, so that they cannot contract upon the blood. The result of this is stagnation, leading to further changes still, such as fatty degeneration

of all the organs; for it must be remembered that alcohol circulates with the blood, and thus finds its way into the remotest tissues. The special diseases referrible to alcohol, besides this general fatty degeneration, are the disease of the liver called 'cirrhosis' and very frequently 'Bright's disease of the kidneys.' Here, then, we have a great and important difference between opium and alcohol. The second great difference grows out of the first. It is this:—I have said that if alcohol be taken in excess for a certain length of time, depending to some extent upon the susceptibility of the individual, organic change, that is disease, is inevitable; but the saddest part of it is that it is real disease, not merely functional disorder; so that if those who have yielded to that excess can be persuaded to abandon alcohol entirely the mischief induced must remain. The progress of further evil may be staved off, but the system can never again be restored to perfect health. *The demon* has taken a grip which can never be entirely unloosed. Herein there is the second great difference between the use of opium and of alcohol in excess.

"If what I have said of opium eating be true, common sense will draw the inference that opium smoking must be comparatively innocuous, for, used in this way, a very small quantity indeed of the active constituents find their entrance into the system. Its influence, like tobacco, is exerted entirely upon the nervous system, and when that influence has passed off it leaves (as also in the case of tobacco) a greater or less craving for its repetition; but as

organic disease is not the result, I see no reason why opium smoking in moderation necessarily degrades the individual more than does the smoking of tobacco."

My own observation goes to show that opium smoking is far more fascinating than opium eating, and that the opium smoker never relapses into the opium eater. I think these statements put the question as regards opium smoking, tobacco smoking, and opium eating in a very different light to what the advocates of the Anti-Opium Society throw upon the subject. The latter talk of the importation of Indian opium into China as the origin of the custom of smoking the drug, or, at the least, that it made the natives smoke more than they otherwise would have done. I do not think there is any truth in such representations. Let us take the year 1880, for instance, and adopting the figures given by Mr. Robert Hart, and concurred in by the British merchants, which I take to be quite correct, that the amount of opium imported into China from India was in that year 100,000 chests, each chest weighing a pikul, which would amount to about 6,000 tons. Distribute those 6,000 tons over the whole of China, which, as I have before said, is as large as Europe, and with a population amounting to 360,000,000, and you will find it gives a very trifling annual amount to each person—not more than a few grains. In the United Kingdom, where we have less than a tenth of the population of China, there were 200,000 tons of alcohol—whisky, gin, brandy, and 1,090,444,716 gallons of wine and beer

consumed in that year. If all these spirits, wine, and beer were mixed up so as to form one vast lake—one huge “devil’s punch-bowl”—there would be sufficient liquor for the whole population of the United Kingdom to swim in at one time. But if the tears of all the broken-hearted wives, widows, and orphans that flowed from the use of the accursed mixture were collected, they would produce such a sea of sorrow, such an ocean of misery as never before was presented to the world. Yet philanthropists and Christian people in this country give all their time, energies, and a great deal of money to put down this purely sentimental grievance in China and shut their eyes to the terrible evils thundering at their own doors.

I have now dealt with fallacies 1, 2, and 4. The third Mr. Turner gravely states in his book—and I am perfectly sure it is accepted as seriously by his followers, *that the supply of opium regulates the demand, and not the demand the supply.* He says at pp. 152-153:—“Defenders of the [opium] policy vainly strive to shelter it behind the ordinary operation of the trade laws of demand and supply. The operation of these economic laws does not divest of responsibility those who set them in motion at either end; for though it would be absurd to speak of supply as alone creative of demand, there is no question but that an abundant and constantly sustained supply increases demand whenever the article is not one of absolute necessity. When silk came by caravans across Central Asia, and a single robe was

worth its weight in gold in Europe, the shining fabric was reserved for emperors and nobles, and no demand could be said to exist for it among common people, whereas now the abundant supply creates a demand among all classes but the very poorest. The maid-servant who covets a silk dress may be literally said to have had the demand *created* in her case, by the ample supply of the material which places it constantly before her eyes and renders it impossible for her to obtain it. Only a few years ago there was no demand for newspapers amongst multitudes who are now daily or weekly purchasers of them. In this case the supply of penny and halfpenny journals may be fairly said to have almost alone created the demand. Such illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied."

After that it may be said that the Birmingham jewellers and Manchester merchants have only to send out to China any amount they please of their wares, and they will find a ready market, the more the merrier. All their goods will be taken off their hands; they will only have to take care that the prices shall not be exorbitant, for otherwise, as in the case of the maid-servant, though they have *created* the demand, the people will be unable to avail themselves of the supply. If that doctrine were sound, a mercantile firm could create as extensive trades as it desired, and in any part of the world. Instead of sending out £50,000 worth this year, as they did last, they have only to export ten times the amount, and still the demand will continue. The fact is, as every man who is not blinded

with enthusiasm and looks at the subject by the light of cool reason and common sense well knows, the effect of sending to China or elsewhere an excessive quantity of merchandise, even though such merchandise were in request there, would have the effect of glutting the market. It is only where the demand exists, and the desire to possess the article, or where the people want a particular class of thing, that the goods can be readily and profitably disposed of. I am sure that if we sent double the quantity that we do of opium to China, or, indeed, three times the quantity, it would be readily bought up by the Chinese, because there is a great demand there for Indian opium, owing to its superior strength and finer flavour. And it must be remembered that China is a vast empire, and that the natives cannot get as much of the Indian drug as they want. Indian opium is many times as strong as the native drug, that is, it contains so many more times the quantity of morphia that the Chinese drug does. I had an opportunity recently of speaking to a German gentleman here who has been thirty years in the opium trade, who has made opium a study, tasting and smelling it, as wine merchants do their wine, and he declares that Indian opium has a perfume and aroma that is not found in Chinese or Persian opium. In fact, the smell of the one is agreeable, while that of the others is offensive. This is one of the reasons for the Chinese liking Indian opium.

Nothing proves this so completely as the correspondence contained in Mr. Hart's Yellow Book

between that gentleman and his various Sub-Commissioners of Customs, who say that the Indian is almost invariably used to mix with the Chinese drug to flavour and make it, so to speak, the more palatable. The proposition which Mr. Turner lays down is simply preposterous, and cannot for a moment be sustained. I do not wish to utter an offensive word towards Mr. Turner personally, whose talents and energy are unquestionable, and whom I hold in the highest esteem. Upon any subject but opium he would be incapable of writing anything but sound sense, but having opium on the brain, he starts theories that are wholly unsustainable, which, I am sorry to say, his devoted followers accept as gospel. But to return to the theory that supply creates the demand. By way of illustration, Mr. Turner goes on to show that, previous to the removal of the duty on newspapers, there were very few in the country, but that the moment the duty was taken off, they multiplied, which he considers proof that in this the supply created the demand. That is most fallacious. The demand for newspapers always existed, but, unfortunately, owing to the oppressive taxes upon knowledge which the newspaper press in former times was subjected to, the supply was limited. In those days even a weekly newspaper was a great undertaking. An enterprising man in a country town might start such a paper, but after a lingering existence it was almost sure to die, not for want of readers, but because it was so heavily taxed that readers could not afford to buy it. First there was a penny

duty on each copy of the newspaper. Next there was a duty of so much the pound upon the raw material, which had to be paid before it left the mill; and then there was a further duty upon every advertisement; so that the unfortunate newspaper proprietor was met with exactions on every side. A copy, even though an old one, of the *Times*, or of any of the morning papers, was in former days eagerly sought for. In his "Deserted Village," Goldsmith, describing the village ale-house, says—

Where village statesmen talked with wit profound,
And news much older than their ale went round.

And one can imagine an eager group in that ale-house trying to get a glimpse of a London newspaper over the shoulders of the privileged holder. But when these oppressive duties were removed, a different state of things prevailed. The cost of starting and manufacturing a newspaper was reduced to about one-fourth of what it was formerly. Every considerable town had its daily and its weekly newspaper, because the demand had always existed, whilst, owing to these taxes, there was no supply. The craving for news had always been present, and the moment these prohibitive duties were struck off, the ambitious editor, or proprietor, saw his opportunity and started a paper, not because the supply would create a demand, but because he knew the demand already existed, and he printed as many as he thought he would find readers for, and no more. Had he printed more than was required the excess would have lain on his hands

as so much waste paper. But according to Mr. Turner's theory, the more newspapers he printed the more he would have sold. It will at once be recognized that this theory of supply and demand is simply absurd. If it could be shown to hold water for a moment, China, and other countries also, would be inundated with articles that never were seen there before. There would be no reason why China should not be largely supplied with ladies' bonnets and satin shoes, which, we know, might lie there for a thousand years and never be used. I have brought before you this notable theory of Mr. Turner's, to show you the utterly worthless kind of arguments with which the British public are supplied, in order to support the silly and most mischievous agitation against the Indo-China opium trade.

The next fallacy is number five, namely: *that all, or nearly all, who smoke opium are either inordinate smokers or necessarily in the way of becoming so; and that once the custom has been commenced it cannot be dropped, and that the consumption daily increases.* That is not so at all. It is altogether exceptional to find an inordinate opium smoker; my reasons for saying so I have already given. I am supported in those views by every English resident in China, amongst them by Dr. Ayres.* I have known hundreds of men who were in the daily habit of smoking opium after business hours, and they never showed any decadence whatever. Opium smoking is never practised during

* See Dr. Ayres's opinion, quoted in my Appendix.

business hours. This is an absolute fact. The opium pipe, as a rule, is indulged in more moderately than wine or cigars are with us, the Chinese being so extremely abstemious in their habits. I never saw any such instances of over-indulgence as Mr. Turner alleges, and I could get hundreds of European witnesses out in China and here in London who would depose to the same fact.

It is absolutely untrue, as put forward by the Anti-Opium Society and their secretary, Mr. Turner, that opium is so fascinating that once a man begins to use it he cannot leave it off; natives will smoke it, on and off, for two or three days, and not smoke it again for a week or more; but the truth is, the habit is a pleasant and beneficial one, and few desire to discontinue smoking.

The next fallacy, number six, is *that the Chinese Government is, or ever was, anxious to put a stop to or check the use of opium.* That is one of the accepted propositions or dogmas of the anti-opium people. There is another fallacy, number nine, which I will dispose of at the same time. It is *that the opposition of the Chinese officials to the introduction of opium into China arose from moral causes.* The whole burden of the Archbishop of York's speech the other day at Leeds was marked by anxiety to strengthen the hands of the Emperor of China in putting down the opium traffic. It is melancholy, indeed, to see a venerated dignitary of the Church made a mouthpiece for such preposterous nonsense. There never was anything more fallacious or more distinctly untrue than that

the Chinese Government is, or ever was, anxious to put a stop to the trade upon moral grounds. The sole object of the Government of China in objecting to the importation of Indian opium into the country, as I have stated already, and as everybody except the infatuated votaries of the Anti-Opium Society believes, was to protect the native drug, to prevent bullion from leaving the country, and generally to exclude foreign goods.

If the Chinese Government really wanted to put a stop to or check the use of opium they would begin by doing so themselves. They would first stop the cultivation of the drug in their own country. We have it on the high authority of Mr. R. Hart, that the drug was grown and used in China long before foreigners introduced any there. The Chinese are the most law-abiding people in the world, and if the Chinese Government really wished to put a stop to the opium culture they could do so without any difficulty, just as our Government has put down tobacco culture in the United Kingdom. I suppose that in Cornwall and Devon, and in some parts of Ireland, the golden vein, for instance, and in parts of Kerry, tobacco could be grown most profitably. It could be cultivated also in the Isle of Wight, and in many other parts of the country. Why, then, is it not grown here? Simply because it is illegal to do so, and the Government is strong enough to enforce the law. If a farmer in Ireland or in England were to sow tobacco, the fact would be soon discovered, and

it would be summarily stopped. The same thing could be done with equal facility in China. Why, then, does not the Government of China suppress the cultivation of the poppy? Simply because it derives a large revenue from opium, both native and foreign, and because the smoking of the drug is an ancient custom amongst the people, known to be not only harmless but beneficial. If it were possible to put down opium smoking in China, the people would assuredly resort to sam-shu, and that would indeed cause China's decadence: for then we should have the criminal classes there indulging in spirits, when the quarrellings, outrages, and kicking of wives to death which Mr. Turner admits are never the result of opium smoking would ensue. I only wish we could turn our drunkards into opium smokers. If the change would only save those wretched wives and their helpless children from ill-treatment by their husbands and fathers we should have secured one valuable end. No Government will attempt to interfere with the fixed habits of the people, especially where those habits have existed many centuries, if not thousands of years, and where they are known not to be injurious to themselves or the safety and stability of the State, and to be in fact harmless. We have it from Mr. Hart's book, that as far as can be ascertained, the probability is that there is about the same quantity of the drug grown in China as is imported into it. That is admittedly a mere haphazard statement, and Mr. Hart gives no data for it, save the returns of his Sub-Commissioners, each

of which differs from the other. The information upon which these Commissioners made up their returns is simply the gossip collected by them at the Treaty Ports of China : no doubt the best, and indeed the only, information which these Commissioners could procure.

Both the Customs and Consular reports on trade for the year 1881 bear testimony to the ever-increasing production of opium in the northern and western provinces of China, and missionaries and others who have recently made journeys in the interior, report the poppy crops to be much larger than before the Imperial decree purporting to prohibit its cultivation. The report of the Customs' Assistant-in-charge at Ichang, shows that the average annual import of the Indian drug at that port does not exceed ten pikuls, while the native production in the Ichang Prefecture is estimated to be over 1,000 pikuls per annum. Mr. Spence, the British Consul at Ichang, in his report on trade dated July, 1881, gives some particulars of the production in the western provinces. He says the quantity of opium grown and manufactured in Szechuen is returned at 45,000 pikuls, but he adds that there is little doubt that this is an under-estimate, considering the immense acreage in Eastern Szechuen now given to the poppy, and the extent of country which Szechuen, after supplying the demand of her own numerous and hard-smoking population, provides with the drug. Mr. Spence proceeds to give an estimate of the total crop of opium raised

in Western China, which is as follows:—Western Hupeh, 2,000 pikuls; Eastern Szechuen, 45,000 pikuls; Yunnan, 40,000 pikuls; and Kwei-chow, 10,000 pikuls; giving a total of 97,000 pikuls. This, it must be borne in mind, is the production of Western China only. In Shantung, Chihli, the inland provinces, and Manchuria it is extensively grown, and in several other provinces smaller quantities of the drug are produced. That nothing is being done to check this widespread cultivation of the poppy is notorious. Messrs. Soltan and Stevenson, who passed through Yunnan last year on their way from Bhamo to Chingkiang, described the country as resembling “a sea of poppy;” and Mr. Spence tells us that in 1880 a greater breadth of land was sown with poppies in Western Hupeh than in the previous years. In Manchuria, which is not China proper, but a large territory belonging to China, and in the northern provinces, there was also a general increase in the area under poppy cultivation. No efforts, in fact, are being made to stop it. On this subject Mr. Spence remarks:—“In Western Hupeh there has been no interference with opium farmers or opium cultivation by the officials, nor, as far as I have been able to ascertain, by any of the authorities of the provinces named in this report. In Yunnan it receives direct official encouragement, and in all the cultivation is free. Its production is regarded as a fertile source of revenue to the exchequer, of pelf to officials and smugglers, of profit to farmers and

merchants, and of pleasure to all. Nearly everybody smokes, and nearly everybody smuggles it about the country when he can; and in this matter there is no difference between rich and poor, lettered and unlettered, governing and governed." After this testimony, which is similar to that given by numerous other and equally disinterested persons, who can pretend to say that the Chinese Government has any real desire to put down the poppy cultivation?

I referred in my last Lecture to a valuable paper read by Sir Rutherford Alcock at a recent meeting of the Society of Arts. Everybody knows this gentleman's abilities, and his high character, which afford the most perfect assurance that he would be incapable of asserting anything that he did not know from his own experience, or from unquestionable sources, to be true. He may be taken to be, therefore, a perfectly unbiassed witness. He has no personal interest in the question, and there is no reason why he should state anything but what is perfectly accurate. He says, in the paper I have mentioned, "Whatever may have been the motive or true cause, about which there hangs considerable doubt, it is certain that neither in the first edicts of 1793-6, nor as late as 1832-4, when several Imperial edicts were issued against the introduction of opium from abroad, no reference whatever is made to the *moral ground* of prohibition, so ostentatiously paraded in later issues, and notably in Li Hung Chang's letter to the Anglo-Opium Society last July. The reasons exclusively put forward in the first of these edicts (in 1793) were

that 'It wasted the time and property of the people of the Inner Land, leading them to exchange their silver and commodities for the vile dirt of the foreigner.' And as late as 1836, when memorials were presented to the Emperor, showing the connection of the opium trade with the exportation of sycee, they generally regarded the question in a political and financial character, rather than a moral light; and certainly, in several edicts issued between 1836 and 1839, when Lin made his grand *coup*, there is little, if any, reference to the evils of opium smoking, but very clear language as to the exportation of bullion. When we reflect that this 'vile dirt,' as I will presently show, was being extensively cultivated in the provinces of China, and largely consumed by his own subjects, we may be permitted to question whether the balance of trade turned by the large importation of opium, and the leakage of the sycee silver, so emphatically and angrily pointed to in after years, was not the leading motive for the prohibition of the foreign drug. We have it on authority, that 'From the commencement of commercial intercourse down to 1828-29 the balance of trade had always been in favour of the Chinese, and great quantities of bullion accumulated in China. Since that date the balance of trade had been in the opposite direction, and bullion began to flow out of China. As silver became more scarce, it naturally rose in value, and the copper currency of the realm (and the only one), already depreciated by means of over-issues and mixture of foreign coin of an inferior

standard, appeared to suffer depreciation when compared with its nominal equivalent in sycee ; and the effects of this change fell heavily upon a large and important class of Government officers, and ultimately upon the revenue itself. Memorials were presented to the Emperor on the subject, and the export of sycee was prohibited.' "

How, after that, it can be said for a moment that the Chinese Government was actuated by moral considerations, or was really anxious to put down opium smoking or opium culture, I cannot conceive. The truth is, and it is so palpable that it really seems to me to require no advocacy whatever, that the Chinese Government, as Sir Rutherford Alcock puts it, does not like to see so much bullion leaving the country. The Chinese Government have been protectionists in the strictest sense of the term. Their idea has been that China can support itself ; that the people can provide themselves with everything they want, and need nothing from the foreigner. They will sell the foreigner as much of their produce as he wishes to buy, and cheerfully take his gold in exchange, but they will not buy from him if they can help doing so. This is the real end they are aiming at ; but they would not be so pertinacious, or put their case so strongly forward as they do, were it not for the attitude taken up by the missionaries and the Anti-Opium Society, as revealed to them by *The Friend of China*. The Government have in their employment Chinese clerks and interpreters who are excellent English scholars.

These men explain everything about the objects of the Anti-Opium Society, and, whilst the Mandarins laugh at it, they are still quite ready to accept the Society as their ally. Hence Li Hung Chang's letter, mentioned in Sir Rutherford Alcock's paper; and whilst despising and cordially hating the missionaries, they play into their hands and humour them in this matter to the top of their bent. Their real object is to get rid of the Indian opium if they can; or, if they cannot, to have a higher duty fixed upon it, so as to reduce its supply; or, at all events, to augment their own revenues by the higher duty. As matters stand at present, the Chinese Government obtain a net revenue of over £2,000,000 sterling from the Indian drug, and they derive, perhaps, half that amount from the duty on the home-grown article. They have revenue cruisers constantly watching to put down smuggling, and they adopt other rigid steps to prevent the practice; but it is still carried on to a considerable extent, not by the British, but by their own people. They are quite willing to perpetuate the Indo-China trade if they can only get the duty raised to suit their purpose. Therein lies their whole object. Mr. Turner speaks about the paternal character of the Chinese Government. In the *Pekin Gazette*—which is in some respects analogous to the *London Gazette*—Imperial decrees are from time to time published. Amongst others there will appear proclamations addressed to the people, warning them to abstain from this and that evil practice. But they

have not the least effect, nor is it expected that they will have effect. They are mere shams, and are not heeded, yet they please the people. These proclamations or injunctions are never intended to be put into effect, and Mr. Turner knows this perfectly well. Dr. Wells Williams mentions in his book that two thousand years before Christ the manufacture of spirits was forbidden in China; yet the trade still flourishes there.

Mr. R. Hart says that "Native opium was known, produced, and used long before any Europeans began the sale of the foreign drug along the coast." Mr. Watters, one of Her Majesty's Consuls in China, states that the poppy is largely cultivated throughout Western China; and Mr. Baber, another of Her Majesty's Consuls, who has travelled through nearly the whole of China, not only confirms Mr. Watters' statement, but says that from his own experience one-third of the province of Yun-nan is under opium culture. Both these gentlemen have been for many years in China, and bear the highest characters. Now, in the face of the statements of such witnesses as these, can you credit for a moment Mr. Storrs Turner, when he says—believing only what he wishes to be true, but having no data for his statements—that it is only recently that opium has been cultivated in China? Of all the existing nations of Asia, the only one that you can now describe as civilized is China, and this is the country where, because it suits his purpose, Mr. Turner tells us this invaluable drug has only *recently* been grown.

China may be said to be the garden of Asia. Opium has been cultivated throughout the whole continent of Asia for thousands of years, and is it likely that the oldest and most civilized of all Asiatic nations would be the last to introduce into their country the culture of that valuable drug to whose curative properties Mr. Turner bears such strong testimony in the opening chapter of his book? The only reason Mr. Turner could have had for making that statement, seems simply to induce his readers to believe that the Chinese would not have cultivated the drug, nor used it for smoking, were it not for the importation of Indian opium into China. Upon this part of my subject I may mention, that a book has been written by a learned man, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, President of the Tungwen College at Peking, who shows that China was the cradle of Alchemy, which was known there 500 years before it was even heard of in Europe. Are these a people likely to be ignorant of this indispensable medicine, as Mr. Turner characterizes it, or to neglect its cultivation throughout their fertile country? I may now add that all, or nearly all, the medicines of the British Pharmacopœia, and a great many more also, have been known to the Chinese for hundreds, if not thousands, of years.

The seventh fallacy is, *that the British merchants in China are making large fortunes by opium.* I have already, I think, fully disposed of this, and I need hardly say anything more upon the subject now. One of the great points of the Anti-Opium Society and its

supporters seems to be that the British merchants are birds of prey, a set of rapacious and ravenous creatures, without the feelings of humanity in their breasts, who have gone out to China to make princely fortunes—that is Mr. Turner's pet expression—by eating into the vitals of the natives of that country, and who, after having helped to demoralize and ruin the nation, intend to return home to enjoy their ill-gotten gains. The best answer to this is the amicable relations that now exist and have always existed between the natives and these merchants. The British merchants, as a body, have no interest in the opium trade.

Another fallacy, or false assumption, number eight, which the advocates of the Anti-Opium Society are fond of propagating, and which is as fully believed in by themselves as by their deluded followers, is—that *the discontinuance of the supply of opium from India would stop or check the practice of opium smoking*. They think that if they could only succeed in suppressing the trade they would deal such a death-blow to this ancient custom, which prevails more or less over the eighteen provinces of the Chinese empire, that we should in a very short time hear of there being no opium smoking at all in China! That is as great a delusion as ever was uttered. Suppose it were possible to stop the supply of opium from British India, and that such stoppage had in fact taken place, the result would be that the Chinese would largely increase the cultivation of the poppy in their own country, and the

Indian drug known as Malwa opium would still continue to be imported into China, for the British Government could not prohibit its exportation. The Portuguese, who were the first to import Indian opium into China, would cultivate the drug, not only in their Indian possession of Goa, but in Africa, where they have colonies. Further, they would encourage its increased cultivation in the native states of India, which produce the Malwa opium, and which, as I have just said, we could not prevent. A great stimulus would also be given to the cultivation of Persian opium. We should have a class of merchants who would form syndicates to buy up all the opium that could be found, and Goa or Macao would become the great depôt for Persian and Malwa opium for the China market, so that we should have probably four times the quantity of the drug shipped to China that is now imported into that country, and thus the alleged evils of opium smoking in China would become intensified. By a stupid though well-meaning policy, that ultimate demoralization, degradation, and ruin which the Anti-Opium Society allege is now being wrought upon the natives of China by the existing Indo-China opium trade would be enormously accelerated, whilst England and English missionaries would only earn the contempt of the Chinese nation and the ridicule of the whole world. I have shown you that the Government of China is not sincere in its professed desire to put down opium smoking, for if it was we should never have had the poppy grown so extensively

as it is at present all over the empire. The evidence of Mr. Hart alone upon this point puts the matter beyond the question of a doubt. How, in the face of that gentleman's book, this anti-opium agitation can continue I really cannot understand. He is an officer of the Chinese Government, and he would be the last man to publish anything damaging to the Chinese Government or people.

The missionaries, in the face of facts which directly contradict them, tell us that the Chinese Government has a horror of opium; but they never tell us that that Government has a horror of themselves. What was the celebrated saying of Prince Kung to the British Ambassador? "Take away your opium and your missionaries," said he. Now the Chinese Government does not hate opium; it derives a very large revenue from the drug at present, and it is only anxious to increase the amount. I have not any doubt whatever that Prince Kung, and all the Imperial magnates, including Li Hung Chang, that strictest of moralists, revel in the very Indian drug they affect so to abhor. But they do detest the missionaries most cordially; so do the whole educated people of the empire, and so do Chinamen generally. None know this better than the missionaries themselves. That disgraceful book, written by a Mandarin, called "A Deathblow to Corrupt Practices," which was, by the aid of his brother Mandarins, extensively circulated throughout China, but too plainly proves the fact. That filthy volume was levelled at the whole mis-

sionary body in China ; it attributed the foulest crimes and most disgraceful and disgusting practices to the missionaries. It was, in fact, the precursor of the Tientsin massacre ; yet the missionaries tell us that if we will only discontinue the Indo-China opium trade the millennium will come. From the Anti-Opium Society one never hears anything about the removal of the missionaries ; it is all "take away your opium."

In the face of the opinions respecting opium profess-
edly held by the Mandarins one can well conceive that Mr. R. Hart was a little cautious about what he said in his book on the opium question. If, however, he were perfectly untrammelled, and could have spoken as a private individual, a much stronger protest from him against the false doctrines diffused by the Anti-Opium Society would doubtless have been published ; but, as matters stand, his book must show to every impartial mind that the teaching of this Society, from its formation to the present time, has been fallacious, misleading, and mischievous. Yet, in the face of this most damaging official Yellow-book, we are still calmly and seriously told from many platforms, by dignitaries of the highest position in the Church, and by clergymen of all denominations, that we are demoralizing and ruining the whole nation, because we send the Chinese a comparatively small quantity of pure and wholesome opium, which is beneficial rather than injurious to them. But what does Mr. Hart, with all his official information, say ? That all this opium, amounting to about 6,000

tons annually, is consumed by *one million of smokers, or one-third of one per cent.* of the whole population of China.

It is declared by Mr. Turner and the other advocates of the Anti-Opium Society, that we have treated the Chinese with great harshness; that we have extorted the Treaty of Tientsin from them, and bullied them into legalizing the admission of opium into the empire; that we began by smuggling opium into China, and ended by quarrelling with the Chinese. It must, on the other hand, be borne in mind how the Chinese have treated us. For more than a century before we introduced opium into China, and began, as it is said, to quarrel with the Chinese, we had been buying their teas and silks and paying for them in hard cash. During all that time we were treated by the Mandarins with the greatest indignity. Our representatives and our people were insulted, often maltreated, and sometimes murdered. As to opium smuggling, about which so much is sought to be made by the anti-opium people, there is one point that the writers and speakers upon the subject seem to have forgotten. It has been for centuries the recognized international law of Europe that one nation is not bound to take cognizance of the revenue laws of another. This principle has been carried out in past times with the greatest strictness. For instance, there was once a very large contraband trade done between England and France. When brandy was heavily taxed, and when it was thought more of than it is now, there was a very

large contraband trade in the article between France and England. It was the same as regards silks, lace, and a great many other articles before free trade became the law of this country. Our Government knew this very well, but they never dreamt for a moment of sending a remonstrance to the French Government upon the subject. Had they done so, the latter would probably have replied: "We cannot prevent our people doing this. We give them no encouragement whatever. We have enough to do to prevent your people from smuggling English goods into our country, and you must do your best on your side to prevent our subjects from introducing goods into your country. We cannot put down smuggling except in our own country; and you must also put it down in yours." For I suppose we also did a little smuggling on our own account. That was the law for centuries, and it is so still. But of late years what is called "the comity of nations" has become more understood; and there is a better spirit spreading between different states on this subject, although, as I have said, the law is still the same. If our Government knew that there was an organized system of smuggling carried on here with France, they would, I dare say, try to put a stop to the practice, and would, at the least, give such information to the Government of France as would put their revenue officers on their guard, and I am sure that the French Government would act in the same way towards us. That would be due to the better feeling that has arisen between the two countries within the

last forty years. The moment, therefore, it was found that there was a large demand in China for Indian opium, smugglers brought it there; and there can be no doubt that they met with great encouragement from the Chinese officials, but they got no assistance from us. The opium shippers carried on the trade at their own risk. The smugglers belonged to all nationalities. There were Americans, Portuguese, and Germans, as well as English engaged in it. According to the international law of European countries the Chinese Government ought, under the circumstances, to have had a proper preventive service, and so put down the smuggling. But, instead of this, the practice was openly encouraged by the Chinese officials, some of them Mandarins of high standing.

Now and then an explosion would occur; angry remonstrances would be addressed to the British Government, and bad feeling between the two nations would be engendered, the Chinese all along treating us as barbarians, using the most insulting language towards us, and subjecting our people, whenever opportunity offered, to the greatest indignities. The missionaries have ignored all these. They appear to have satisfied themselves so completely that we forced this trade upon the Chinese that they have lost sight both of fact and reason. The very existence of an opium-smuggling trade with China shows that the article smuggled was in very great demand in that country. People never illegally take into a country an article that is not greatly in

request there. They will not risk their lives and property unless they know large profits are to be acquired by the venture, and such profits can only be made upon articles in great demand. It was because there was found to be a demand for Indian opium that this contraband trade sprang up. This furnishes the strongest proof that the Chinese valued the opium highly, and that it was on their invitation that the drug was introduced. There is, I believe, a considerable contraband trade now carried on in tobacco between Germany and Cuba and England, just because the article is in demand here, and there is a very high duty upon it. The fact is, that if the arguments of the anti-opium people are properly weighed, they will be found, almost without exception, to cut both ways, and to be far more damaging against their side.

In short, the charges brought by the Anti-Opium Society against the importation of Indian opium into China are exactly on a par with the objections of a Society established in France for the purpose of prohibiting the importation into England of cognac, on the grounds that that spirit intoxicated, demoralized, and ruined the English people. If any set of men in France were fanatical and insane enough to set forth such views, they would be laughed down at once. The answer to the objection to the brandy trade would be, "That the English people manufacture and drink plenty of gin and whisky, and if they, the French, discontinued sending them brandy the English would simply manufacture and drink

more spirits of their own production." No two cases could be more alike.

Before proceeding to the last of the fallacies I have mentioned, I wish to refer to the statements made by Mr. Storrs Turner in his book, and by the advocates of the Anti-Opium Trade respecting the Treaty of Tientsin. It is alleged that Lord Elgin, who bore the highest character as a statesman and Christian gentleman, extorted the treaty from the Chinese, and forced them to include opium in the schedule to that treaty. Mr. Turner, at p. 95 of his book, typifies the conduct of England thus:—"The strong man knocks down the weak one, sets his foot upon his chest and demands—'Will you give me the liberty to knock at your front door and supply your children with poison *ad libitum*?' The weak man gasps out from under the crushing pressure—'I will, I will; anything you please.' And the strong man goes home rejoicing that he is no longer under the unpleasant necessity of carrying on a surreptitious back-door trade." Now, this metaphor has no application whatever. It is extraordinary how fond these anti-opium people are of maligning their own countrymen. The fact is, that since the time of the Treaty of Nankin, in 1842, opium, although not mentioned in the treaty, has been openly allowed into the country. After that there was no more smuggling, so far as Europeans were concerned. In 1858, when the Treaty of Tientsin was being drawn up, the tariff upon British goods had to be settled. The Chinese Commissioners, as a matter of course, and without

any pressure whatever, proposed to put down opium in the schedule at the present fixed duty of 30 taels a pikul. It is included in the tariff just like other goods. Mr. H. N. Lay, who, jointly with Sir Thomas Wade, Her Majesty's present Minister at Peking, was Chinese Secretary to Lord Elgin's special mission, and who then, I believe, filled the important post in the Chinese service now occupied by Mr. Robert Hart, expresses his opinion on the subject as follows :—

“ Statements have been advanced of late, with more or less of precision, to the effect that the legalization of the opium trade was wrung from Chinese fears. At the recent meeting in Birmingham Lord Elgin is credited, in so many words, with having ‘extorted’ at Tientsin the legalization of the article in question. There is no truth whatever in the allegation, and I do not think, in fairness to Lord Elgin's memory, or in justice to all concerned, that I ought to observe silence any longer. Jointly with Sir Thomas Wade, our present Minister in China, I was Chinese Secretary to Lord Elgin's special mission. All the negotiations at Tientsin passed through me. Not one word upon either side was ever said about opium from first to last. The revision of the tariff and the adjustment of all questions affecting our trade was designedly left for after deliberation and arrangement, and it was agreed that for that purpose the Chinese High Commissioners should meet Lord Elgin at Shanghai in the following winter. The Treaty of Tientsin was signed on the 26th of June, 1858 ; the

first was withdrawn, and Lord Elgin turned the interval to account by visiting Japan and concluding a treaty there. In the meantime the preparation of the tariff devolved upon me, at the desire no less of the Chinese than of Lord Elgin. *When I came to 'Opium' I inquired what course they proposed to take in respect to it. The answer was, 'We have resolved to put it into the tariff as Yang Yoh (foreign medicine).'* This represents with strict accuracy the amount of the 'extortion' resorted to. And I may add that the tariff as prepared by me, although it comprises some 300 articles of import and export, *was adopted by the Chinese Commissioners without a single alteration,* which would hardly have been the case had the tariff contained aught objectionable to them. Five months after the signature of the Treaty of Tientsin, long subsequently to the removal of all pressure, the Chinese High Commissioners, the signatories of the treaty, came down to Shanghai in accordance with the arrangement made, and after conference with their colleagues, and due consideration, signed with Lord Elgin the tariff as prepared, along with other commercial articles which had been drawn up in concert with the subordinate members of the Commission who had been charged with that duty. *The Chinese Government admitted opium as a legal article of import, not under constraint, but of their own free will deliberately."*

Now Mr. H. N. Lay is a gentleman whose character is altogether unimpeachable, and this is his statement. He explains the whole transaction, and it is substan-

tially and diametrically contrary to the statements of Mr. Turner and the Anti-Opium Society. His account of the matter has the greater force, because he is rather an anti-opium man than the opposite, and at the time of the treaty he was in the service of the Chinese Government. The truth is, that we never should have had the Chinese urging us to increase the duty had they not been supported by the Anti-Opium Society.

And now, as I am on the political side of the question, I will say a few words on the Indian aspect of the case. The Government of India is charged by Mr. Storrs Turner and the anti-opium people generally with descending to the position of opium manufacturers and merchants, and quotes an alleged proposal of the late Lord Lawrence to drop the traffic, leaving the cultivation and exportation of the drug to private enterprise, and recouping itself from loss by placing a heavy export duty on the article.

If Lord Lawrence ever proposed such an arrangement, which I doubt very much, I hardly think he could have carefully considered the question. No doubt, in an abstract point of view, it is wrong for the Government of a country to carry on a business, or to take into its own hands a monopoly of any trade, yet the thing has, for a great number of years, been done, and is still practised by some continental Governments without the existence of any special reason for doing so. The Indo-China opium trade, however, is an entirely exceptional one. When an

exceptional state of things has to be dealt with, exceptional measures must be applied. The opium industry in India is an ancient one ; and the exportation of this drug to China began under the Portuguese, several centuries ago. Were the Government of India to adopt the alleged proposal of Lord Lawrence, the result would be that a much larger quantity of opium than is now produced in India would be turned out, so that not only would the alleged evils now complained of by the missionaries and the Anti-Opium Society be intensified, but the Government of India would find its revenue greatly increased by its export duty on the drug.

There are numerous objections to throwing open the Indian trade. As matters now stand, the Government of India annually makes advances to the opium growers, to enable them to produce the drug. These advances are made at a low or nominal rate of interest. Let the Government once drop the monopoly and throw open the trade, and then the small farmers—and they form perhaps seventy-five per cent. of the whole—would be at the mercy of the usurers, who are the curse of India. Thus the poor cultivator, instead of paying the Government two or three per cent. interest for the advance, would have to pay perhaps five or even ten times that amount, with a bill for law costs ; and a much larger bill staring him in the future, in case he should be so unfortunate as not to be up to time with his payments. The usurers in such cases would profit by the production of opium instead of the growers. As to the morality of the proposed

change, I do not see what could be gained by such an arrangement. If it is wrong to derive a revenue from opium by direct, it is equally wrong to do so by indirect means. Before closing this part of the subject, there is another point I wish to say a few words upon. It is put forward by Mr. Turner in his book, with great plausibility, and is, no doubt, accepted by his disciples as fact, that every acre of land put under opium cultivation displaces so much rice, the one being a poison, the other the staff of life. This is perfectly fallacious; wherever rice is grown in China—and I fancy it is the same in India—there are two crops taken in the year. Rice is cultivated during the spring and summer months (that is, the rainy season), for the grain only grows where there is abundance of water. The poppy thrives only in the dry season, that is, during the latter part of the autumn and the winter, when the rice crops have been saved. The poppy requires a rich soil, so that before planting it the farmers have to manure the ground well; then, when the poppy crop has been secured, the land is in good heart for rice, and so the rotation goes on. Thus much for the accuracy of this statement of Mr. Storrs Turner.

I come now to the last of the fallacies, fantasies, and delusions upon which the huge superstructure of folly of the Anti-Opium Society has been built. At once the least sustainable, it is the one which carries the most weight with the supporters of that Society, for it furnishes the *raison d'être* of their whole action.

It is that the introduction of Indian opium into China has arrested the progress of Christianity in that country, and that if the trade were discontinued the Chinese would accept the Gospel. No greater delusion than this could be indulged in; indeed, it seems to me something like a profanation to mix up the Indo-China opium trade with the spread of the Gospel in the Empire of China. If the objection to embrace Christianity because we send opium to China has ever, in fact, been made by Chinamen, that objection was only a subterfuge. We send no opium to Japan, so that no complaint on that head can be made, yet we make as few converts there as in China. I have already furnished you with the excuse of the Japanese for not accepting Christianity. We send but 6,000 tons of opium to China annually, which, according to Mr. Robert Hart, who is unquestionably the best authority on the subject, inflicts no appreciable injury upon the health, wealth, or extension of the population of that vast empire. The truth is, that the alleged objection of the Chinese Government against Christianity amounts simply to this: because some of our people do what is wrong, and we are not as a nation faultless in morals, we should not ask them to change their religion for ours. Perfection is not to be attained by any nation or the professors of any creed. If we had the ability, and were foolish enough to stop the exportation of Indian opium to China, the Chinese would find some other reason for clinging to their own creeds and rejecting Christianity. As I have before mentioned, they could, and doubtless would, point to the fearful plague of intemper-

ance prevailing amongst us; they could also refer to the distilleries and breweries in the United Kingdom, to our Newgate Calendar, and to the records of the Divorce Court. In short, they would say, "You do not practise what you preach. What do you mean, then, by trying to make Christians of us?" The same doctrine has been used over and over again even in Christian countries, and it is lamentable to see educated and intelligent men becoming victims to such a delusive mode of reasoning.

The practice of opium smoking has existed in China from time immemorial. You might as well try to reverse the course of Niagara as to wean the Chinese from the use of their favourite drug. As to the Treaty of Tientsin, it is unfair of the missionaries to speak of it as they do. It was prepared with the greatest deliberation, by a statesman who was singularly remarkable for his humanity and good-nature, assisted by able subordinates who were in no way behind him in the possession of those qualities. The missionaries seem to forget that this very Treaty of Tientsin which they so denounce is the charter by which they have now a footing in China, with liberty to preach the Gospel there. They would have no *locus standi* in China but for this sorely abused treaty. There is a special clause in it drawn up by Lord Elgin, providing that we should be at liberty to propagate Christianity in the country. That treaty is the missionaries' protection. It is to it they would now appeal if molested by the Mandarins or people of China. They cry down the

treaty for one purpose, and they rely upon it for another.

In the course of these Lectures I have spoken of some of the vices of the Chinese, and of our own also. The people of England have, however, many virtues, the growth of centuries; one of these is a broad and liberal charity, that pours forth a continuous stream of benevolence over the whole world. It is a virtue that pervades all classes, from our honoured Queen to the humblest of her subjects. It is not without a swelling heart that one can walk through the streets of London and see the noble charitable institutions surrounding him upon all sides, such as hospitals, convalescent institutions, homes for aged and infirm people, educational institutions, and such like, *supported by voluntary contributions*—living evidences of the charity and benevolence of our people in the past and present. Yet these splendid monuments but faintly testify to the vast flow of charity perpetually running its course around us. Observe how liberally the public respond to the appeals made to it almost daily. Look at the cases of the persecution of the Jews in Russia, the famine in the North of China, the distress and troubles in Ireland. Then, again, there is the charity “that lets not the left hand know what the right hand doeth,” of which the world sees nothing, but which is known to go on unceasingly, and which probably is the most liberal of all. With such an active and continuous benevolence we should take care that this beneficent stream is not diverted into worthless chan-

nels, for that would be a matter concerning the whole public. Now, though I hold in the greatest respect all the officers and supporters of the Anti-Opium Society, who are actuated, I admit, by the best motives, and whose characters for benevolence and good faith I do not question, I cannot forbear from saying that their crusade against the Indo-China opium trade is as unjustifiable as it is mischievous. It encourages the Chinese Government to make untenable demands upon us, under false pretences, and it is an unwarranted interference with an industry affording subsistence to millions of our fellow-subjects in India. It aims, also, at cutting off some seven or eight millions sterling from the revenue of that vast dependency, now expended in ameliorating the condition of its dense population.

I say that the missionaries and the Anti-Opium Society, in the course of their agitation for the abolition of this Indo-China opium trade, are vilifying their countrymen and blackening their country in the eyes of the whole world, so that the foreigner can convict us out of our own mouths, and jibe at us for hypocrisy and turpitude we are wholly innocent of, and for crimes we have never committed.* I say that the history of the Society presents nothing but a dreary record of energies wasted, talents misapplied, wealth uselessly squandered, charity perverted, and philanthropy run

* In a recent number of the *Temps*, England was flouted with playing a humanitarian, hypocritical part towards Tunis, whilst we oppressed the natives of China by forcing them to smoke opium, in order to augment the revenue of the Indian Government.

mad. Of the missionaries themselves, beyond this opium craze that has possessed them, I have nothing to say except to their credit. A more deserving body of men this world has never produced ; under hardships, troubles, and unspeakable difficulties, they have sped their way with courage and cheerfulness, undeterred by dangers, privations and hardships which nothing but their strong faith and unflagging zeal in their sacred mission could have enabled them to surmount. Of their ultimate success I entertain, perhaps, as little doubt as they do themselves ; but on this opium question the "zeal of their house hath eaten them up," and they have unconsciously been playing the game of the crafty heathen.

Let them pursue their good cause, and not allow themselves to be cajoled by their bitterest enemies. Let these vast funds, subscribed for the promotion of a chimera, be transferred to the missionaries' fund, so as to give those missionaries a little more ease in the hostile climate and the bitter fight that is before them. "The labourer is worthy of his hire," and it is starving the missionary work not to pay its servants liberally, I should say most liberally. With respect to the Rev. Mr. Storrs Turner, whose name I have so often mentioned, and whose book I have so frequently animadverted upon, I had the pleasure of knowing him in China. No worthier or better gentleman, and no more able and zealous missionary clergyman ever set foot there. In referring to him and his book as I have done, nothing was further from my thoughts than to im-

pute for a moment an unworthy motive. He stands in the first rank of the missionary clergymen who stood the brunt of the battle, and is deserving of praise and honour. As yet the missionaries have been like husbandmen tilling an unkindly soil, trying to produce wholesome fruit where only gross weeds grew before ; and although small has been the fruit as yet, the unfriendly soil is daily showing signs of yielding, and I feel assured that the day will soon come when their labours shall be rewarded with a plenteous harvest.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Official Yellow Book of R. Hart, Esq., Inspector-General of Chinese Customs.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

OPIMUM IN CHINA: HOW MANY SMOKERS DOES THE FOREIGN DRUG SUPPLY?

1.—*Opium in China: how many smokers does the Foreign drug supply?*—The following pages contain the results of an inquiry instituted to answer this question.

2.—The Commissioners of Customs at a score of ports along the coast and on the Yangtze were instructed by Circular to make inquiry in their respective districts and draw up replies to questions appended to the Circular. That Circular and the Commissioners' Reports are given here in full, and in a separate table the answers to the questions will be found brought together for greater convenience. With these questions and answers to start from, an answer to the question at the head of this Introductory Note can be easily worked out.

3.—In round numbers, the annual importation of Foreign Opium may be said to amount to 100,000 chests, or, allowing 100 catties to each chest, 10,000,000 catties (the *catty* is the Chinese pound: one catty is equal to *one pound and a third avoirdupois*). When boiled down and converted into what is known as Prepared Opium, the raw drug loses about 30 per cent. in weight; accordingly, 10,000,000 catties of the unprepared drug imported reach the hands of retailers as, say, 7,000,000 catties of Prepared Opium. The catty is divided into 16 *liang* (ounces), and the *liang* into tenths called *mace*; in 7,000,000 catties there are therefore $[7,000,000 \times 16 \times 10]$ 1,120,000,000 *mace* of Prepared Opium for smokers.

4.—Before reaching the smoker, Opium pays the Chinese Government import duty and likin taxes amounting to, say, 100 *taels*, and is then sold at, say, 800 *taels* of Chinese sycee or silver [$\text{£}3 = \text{Tls. } 10$] per 100 catties: thus the total quantity retailed, *i.e. imported*, may be said to be paid for with 56,000,000 *taels*, or $\left\{ \frac{70,000 \times 800}{10} \times 3 \right\} \text{£}16,800,000$, and one mace of Prepared Opium is consequently worth, say, $\left\{ \frac{\text{£}16,800,000 \text{ or } 4,032,000,000 \text{ pence}}{1,120,000,000} \right\}$ about threepence halfpenny (English).

5.—Divided by the number of days in the year, the quantity of Prepared Opium smoked daily may be said to be $\left\{ \frac{1,120,000,000}{365} \right\}$ 3,068,493 mace, and the value [$3,068,493 \times 3.60$] 11,046,573*d.*, or $\text{£}46,027$.

6.—Average smokers consume 3 mace of Prepared Opium and spend about 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* daily. This quantity is the same as $\frac{1}{16}$ ths of an ounce avoirdupois, and suffices for from 30 to 40 pipes, *i.e.* whiffs, “draws,” or inhalations. If we divide the total number of mace consumed daily by the total quantity each average smoker consumes daily, we find that there are in round numbers above 1,000,000 smokers $\left\{ \frac{3,068,493}{3} \right\}$ of Foreign Opium.

7.—The population of China is spoken of as amounting to more than 400,000,000, and may fairly be pronounced to be something above 300,000,000. Estimating population at 300,000,000 and Opium-smokers at 1,000,000, and proceeding with the calculation, the result is that 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ in every 1,000 smoke; that is, that Opium-smoking is practised by *one-third of one per cent.* of the population.

8.—In addition to the Foreign drug, there is also the Native product. Reliable statistics cannot be obtained respecting the total quantity produced: Ichang, the port nearest Szechwan, the province which is generally believed to be the chief producer and chief consumer of Native Opium, estimates the total production of Native Opium at 25,000 chests annually, while another port, Ningpo, far away on the coast, estimates it at 265,000 chests.

Treating all such replies as merely so many guesses, there are, it is to be remarked, two statements which may be taken as facts in this connexion: the one is that, as far as we know to-day, the Native Opium produced does not exceed the Foreign import in quantity, and the other *that Native Opium was known, produced, and used long before any Europeans began the sale of the Foreign drug along the coast.* Granting, then, that the Native product equals the Foreign import, and that 100,000 chests are produced annually, and granting also that this quantity, when prepared, provides 1,120,000,000 mace of Prepared Opium for the annual consumption of 1,000,000 additional smokers, the number of Opium-smokers in China may be said to be in all 2,000,000, or *two-thirds of one per cent.* of the population. The Native product sells for one-half of the price obtained for the Foreign drug, and may be estimated to be paid for with, say, £8,400,000 by 1,000,000 smokers, who spend about $5\frac{1}{4}d.$ apiece daily. The total amount spent by China on this luxury, produced at home and imported from abroad, is thus, say, £25,000,000 annually.

9.—Examined in this way the result arrived at is that 200,000 chests, or almost 12,000 tons [1,680 catties=one ton], of unprepared Opium are consumed annually by 2,000,000 Opium-smokers; that these smokers expend £25,000,000 on Opium; that this is an expenditure of, say, from $5d.$ to $11d.$ daily by individual smokers; and that all the smokers amount to only two-thirds of one per cent. of the population. If more than 3 mace apiece is consumed daily by smokers, then smokers are less numerous; if less than 3 mace, then smokers are more numerous, and smoking individually less harmful. The truth is that many smoke more than 3 mace and many less, but from the statistical point of view it is safe to say *that Opium-smokers in China constitute simply two-thirds of one per cent. of the population.* On the supposition even that the quantity of Native Opium produced is ten times that of the Foreign Opium imported, the total will not yet suffice for the consumption of even four per cent. of the population. Four per cent. is a small per-centage, but in China it means twelve millions of people. It is hardly credible, however, that Native Opium is

produced in such quantity ; but whatever the number of Opium-smokers may really be—and allowing that many people smoke without injury,—there must in any case be a per-centage of smokers for whom the habit works nothing but evil.

10.—Chinese who have studied the Opium question are opposed to a traffic which more or less harms smokers now numbering, say, over two millions, and annually increasing ; at the same time they admit that Opium provides a large revenue, that the expenditure for Opium and liability to the incidence of Opium taxation touch an infinitesimally small per-centage of the population, *and that neither the finances of the State, nor the wealth of its people, nor the growth of its population, can be specially damaged by a luxury which only draws from 5d. to 11d. apiece a day from the pockets of those who indulge in it, and which is indulged in by only two-thirds of one per cent. of the population.* They admit all this, but they do not find in either the revenue produced or the statistical demonstration of its per-centage innocuousness any sufficient reason for welcoming the growth of the trade or for desisting from the attempt to check the consumption of Opium.

ROBERT HART,

INSPECTORATE GENERAL OF CUSTOMS, *Inspector General.*

PEKING, 29th January, 1881.

OPIUM.

CIRCULAR No. 64 : SECOND SERIES.

INSPECTORATE GENERAL OF CUSTOMS, PEKING,
10th July 1879.

SIR,—1.—I ENCLOSE a form of return concerning Opium-smoking, which you will please to fill up after making such inquiries at your port as shall ensure correctness in the information you send me.

2.—You will observe that what is wanted is—

- 1°, to ascertain how many catties of boiled or prepared Opium can be got from 100 catties of the drug in the crude or unprepared condition in which it arrives in China ;
- 2°, to ascertain the price of 100 catties of unprepared Opium after paying Import Duty, and the price of the same hundred catties when converted into . catties of prepared Opium ;
- 3°, to ascertain what weight of prepared Opium is smoked daily—(a) by beginners, (b) by average smokers, and (c) by heavy smokers ;
- 4°, to ascertain how many pipes one mace of prepared Opium will fill (one catty weighs 16 taels, and one tael weighs ten mace ; consequently 1 catty = 160 mace) ;
- 5°, to ascertain the price of one mace of prepared Opium at the retail shops or smoking rooms ;
- 6°, to give the total quantity of each kind of unprepared Opium of Foreign origin imported last year at your port ;
- 7°, to ascertain the total quantity of unprepared Opium of Native origin said to be produced—(a) in your province, and (b) in all China ;
- 8°, to ascertain the general opinion as to the length of time—months or years—a man must smoke before the habit takes such a hold on him as to be very difficult, if not impossible, to be given up ;
- 9°, to ascertain the sum-total of the charges and taxes to which 100 catties of Opium are liable, after paying Import Duty, before being legally able to go into consumption at the port, or leave the port for the Interior.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

ROBERT HART,

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS.

Inspector General.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield Catties of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared Oil for Hk. Tls.	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for Hk. Tls.	Be-ginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium Mace.	Average Smokers consume daily Mace.	Heavy Smokers consume daily Mace.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill Pipes.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smoking Room Hk. Tls.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced in the Province (Name) yearly.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Payment of Import Duty.
Malwa . . .													
Patna . . .													
Benares . . .													
Persian . . .													
Native (Chinese)													

NEWCHWANG.

No. 79.
1879.

CUSTOM HOUSE, NEWCHWANG,
2nd September 1879.

SIR,—In compliance with the instructions contained in your Circular No. 64, Second Series:

Opium: inquiries concerning consumption of:

I now forward, in the form given, the information asked for.

Inquiries made in various directions produced such different results that it is difficult to say which are the most accurate statements.

Under some of the headings the figures given must be taken as merely approximate, but I believe the values to be fairly correct.

In the seventh column, 1·5 taels is given as the largest daily consumption. This quantity is exceptional, and could only be indulged in by wealthy and inveterate smokers. The price of the drug at a smoking room differs little from its market value, the owners of smoking rooms making their profit by mixing sesamum-cake and the ashes or residue of Opium smoked by their customers with the pure article.

I cannot obtain any information as to the amount of Opium

said to be produced in all China yearly. This column is therefore left blank.

The taxes collected here on Native Opium amount to a very small sum, the small quantity that is transported to the various marts for trading purposes being generally smuggled.

I have, &c.,

GEO. HUGHES,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIMUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Provinces of Shengking, Kirin, Heil- ungkiang.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
	Catties.	Ilk. Tls.	Ilk. Tls.	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes.	Ilk. Tls.	Piculs.		Piculs		Hk. Tls.
Malwa .	80	540	600	1 to 1.5	3	10 to 15	5 to 8	0.0.5.5	1,112.25	Averaged at 3,000 piculs in plentiful years. This year, owing to the drought in the early summer and the prohibition of poppy cultivation by the authorities, the production has not been more than 1,000 piculs.	—		31.3.8.0
Patna .	53	342	572	1 to 1.5	3	10 to 15	5 to 8	0.0.6.4	57.40		—		31.3.8.0
Benaros	55	332	502	1 to 1.5	3	10 to 15	5 to 8	0.0.6.4	27.40		—		31.3.8.0
Persian	75	442	533	1 to 1.5	3	10 to 15	5 to 8	0.0.4.6	26		—		31.3.8.0
Native . (Chinese)	70	413	461	2	4	10 to 15	5 to 8	0.0.4.2	NIL.		—		20.9.2.0
										Old smokers find it harder to relinquish the habit than beginners, and weak men than those who are strong and healthy. Many begin smoking as a remedy for disease, and it is harder for them to give it up than for those who smoke merely for indulgence sake.			

TIENTSIN.

No. 93.

I.G.

CUSTOM HOUSE, TIENTSIN,

6th September 1879.

SIR,—IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Circular No. 64, Second Series, of 1879:

Opium: inquiries concerning consumption of:

I now beg to enclose the return therein called for.

I have, &c.,

DETRING,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smoking Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Chihli.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Payment of Import Duty.
Malwa	Catties. 70	Hk. Tls. 527	Hk. Tls. 560	Mace. 5	Mace. 2	Mace. 8	Pipes. 10	Hk. Tls. 0.0.4.5	Piols. 3,530.40	In Chihli the poppy is not grown to any extent. The Native opium comes from Shanai, and smokers are in the habit of mixing three-tenths of it with seven-tenths of Foreign drug. Dealers in Opium estimate that one-third of the Opium consumed is grown in China.			
Patna	50	394	480	3	1.2	3.6	14	0.0.9.0	164.20			Years. 3	Hk. Tls. 35.0.0.0
Benares	50	374	464	3	1.2	3.6	14	0.0.9.0	21.60			1½	35.0.0.0
Persian	70	408	504	5	2	6	10	0.0.4.5	290.98			3	35.0.0.0
Native (Chinese)	70	370	460	6	8	7	10	0.4.0	Unprepared 69.98 Prepared 23.11½			Months 2 to 3	Can-not be ascertained.

CHEFOO.

No. 71.
I.G.

CUSTOM HOUSE, CHEFOO,
20th September 1879.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular No. 64, Second Series, of 1879 :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :

and, in reply, to enclose you the "Opium-smoking Return," duly filled in with the information required, as obtained here.

Much difficulty has been experienced in eliciting answers to the various questions put to the Native Opium shops and others, all viewing with suspicion any inquiry made, evidently fearing that some prohibition is about to be put on the trade, or that their interests are in some way to suffer. Hence some of the particulars given in the return can scarcely be considered reliable, although every pains has been taken to collect information. The figures in the first six columns may be regarded as correct, as the same results have been arrived at after comparing the answers of the several dealers questioned. As to the number of pipes one mace of prepared Opium will fill, I am informed that it entirely depends upon the smoker—an habitual smoker putting a large quantity into his pipe, whereas the beginner uses a much smaller portion. The cost at a smoking room of one mace of prepared Opium (Malwa) is estimated at 70 *cash*, whilst Patna and Benares, which are cheaper drugs in the market, cost more. The explanation for this seeming discrepancy offered to me is that the latter sorts are very little smoked here, and therefore a heavier charge is made for an article which is comparatively rare and not much in demand. Looking at the total amounts imported, the explanation appears to be a reasonable one. I can obtain no information as to the number of piculs of Opium said to be produced yearly in all China, everyone questioned stating that he could do no more than make a rough guess. It seems to be next to an impossibility to

ascertain with any accuracy within what number of years a man may give up the habit of smoking, so much depending on the individual's constitution. There may be rare instances of a powerful man smoking for four or five years, and then being able to desist, but the general opinion appears to be that a man who has smoked two years becomes a slave to the drug, and that weakly constituted persons cannot give it up after six months' consumption. As far as I can ascertain, no taxes are levied on the Native drug further than a heavy land tax on the grower.

I have, &c.

C. LENOX SIMPSON,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire, *Commissioner of Customs.*
Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIP- TION OF OPIMUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.		100 Catties Unprepared sell for		The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for		Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.		Average Smokers consume daily.		Heavy Smokers consume daily.		One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.		One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.		Total Import last Year.		Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Shan- tung.		Said to be produced in all China yearly.		The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).		Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after pay- ment of Import Duty.	
	Catties.	Hk Tls	Hk. Tls	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes.	Hk Tls.	Piculs.	Piculs	Piculs	Years.	Hk.Tls													
Malwa .	70	535	546	1	3	10	10	0.0.7.0	3,177.86	—	—	2	35.0.0.													
Patna .	55	383	420	1	3	10	10	0.0.8.0 to 0.0.9.0	44.40	—	—	2	35.0.0.													
Benares .	55	380	410	1	3	10	10	0.0.8.0 to 0.0.9.0	111.75	—	—	2	35.0.0.													
Persian .	70	450	500	1	3	10	10	0.0.6.0 to 0.0.7.0	92.50	—	—	2	35.0.0.													
Native (Chinese)	87 to 90	250 to 400	400	1	3	10	10	0.0.6.0	Pre- pared 0.484	500 to 600	Information not obtainable.	2	Informa- tion not obtain- able.													

ICHANG.

No. 61.
1879.CUSTOM HOUSE, ICHANG,
25th August 1879.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular No. 64, Second Series :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :
and, in reply, beg to hand you the return therein called for.

I have, &c.,

HY. EDGAR,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire, Acting Deputy Commissioner-
Inspector General of Customs, Peking. in-Charge.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium Costs at a Smok- ing Room	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Hupei.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
	Catties	Hk. Tls	Hk. Tls	Mace	Mace	Mace	Peecks	Hk. Tls	Peecks	Peecks	Peecks	Years.	Hk. Tls.
Malwa	75	450	600	1	2	4	10	0.05.5	By Native Craft, 10 1.20	—	—	10	9.0.0.0
Patna	60	400	540	1	2	4	10	0.05.5	—	—	—	10	9.0.0.0
Benares	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Persian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Native (Chinese)	65	290	330	1.5	3	6	8	0.03.5	From Sze- chwan, 300	2,000	25,000	15	1.5.0.0*

* Duty Collected by Native Customs, Hk. Tls. 8.0.0.0

HANKOW.

No. 88.
1879.

CUSTOM HOUSE, HANKOW,
22nd August 1879.

SIR,—I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of Circular No. 64, Second Series :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :

and, in accordance with the instructions therein contained, to forward, enclosed, the return called for.

In connexion with this return I beg to submit the following remarks, which appear to me as necessary in explanation of some of its points.

Owing to the entire absence of all reliable figures, the amount of Opium put down as produced within the province and within the Empire, yearly, must be taken as approximate only. I have been careful to collect information from various sources, and this has been as carefully prepared and verified as the means at hand will allow.

The drug produced in the province comes from three prefectures, namely, Ich'ang-fu, Shihnan-fu, and Yünyang-fu.

That produced in the Empire is stated to be contributed by the different provinces in the following proportions, and about equals the total amount of Foreign drug imported into Hongkong and Chinese ports :—

Szechwan	<i>Piculs</i>	45,000
Yünnan	"	17,000
Kweichow	"	12,000
Honan	"	5,000
Shénsi	"	5,000
Shansi	"	4,000
Chihli	"	3,000
Chêbkiang	"	3,000
Hupéh	"	2,000
Hunan	"	1,000
Shantung	"	1,000

Total *Piculs* 98,000

The prices stated, per 100 catties, for unprepared and prepared drug, are wholesale.

The time required to enslave a man in the habit of Opium-smoking depends so greatly on the constitution of the person that it is almost impossible to fix any period, although, taking an average, the time given in the return is approximately correct. When the smoker is of a robust constitution, he will resist the effects of the drug, naturally, for a much longer time than he would were he weak and sickly, but great stress is laid by my informants on the regularity or irregularity observed in the daily hours for indulging in the habit. If the same times be observed, then a beginner will develop into an habitual smoker in about three or four months; but if, on the other hand, he smokes daily, but at uncertain hours, he may smoke for years, and then even be able to give up the habit without effort or inconvenience. It is to the strong and healthy that this remark applies, for when once a weakly person becomes a confirmed smoker, it seems next to impossible for him to give up the artificial stimulus that supplies him with life and energy, without a prostration very difficult to combat.

I have, &c.,

FRANCIS W. WHITE,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIMUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smoking Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Hupeh.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Payment of Import Duty.
	Catties.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes.	Hk. Tls.	Piculs.	Piculs	Piculs	Months	Hk. Tls.
Malwa	80	552	608	2	4	15	3	0.0.3.5	1,905	—	—	6	20.0.0.0
Patna	50	396	460	2	4	15	3	0.0.4.7	218.63	—	—	6	20.0.0.0
Benares	40	368	424	2	4	15	3	0.0.1.7	1.20	—	—	6	20.0.0.0
Persian	70	525	580	2	4	15	3	0.0.3.8	17.43	—	—	6	20.0.0.0
Native (Chinese)	65	276	332	2	4	15	3	0.0.3.5	Nil.	2,000	98,000	6	10.0.0.0

KIUKIANG.

No. 70.

I.G.

CUSTOM HOUSE, KIUKIANG,

26th August 1879.

SIR,—1.—In conformity with the instructions contained in your Circular No. 64, Second Series :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :

I now have the honour to send you, herewith enclosed, an "Opium-smoking Return" giving the information which you have asked for.

2.—The total quantity of unprepared Opium of Native origin said to be produced yearly in the province of Kiangsi I find it next to impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty. Native testimony differs widely : some say the poppy is not cultivated at all, some that a few piculs are grown, while others state the production to be several hundreds of piculs. This production seems to depend upon the return of other crops. Probably a few hundred piculs are raised in the districts of Kanchow and Nanch'ang, but this is purely for local consumption, and none of it is brought here to market.

3.—It is equally impossible to give a trustworthy approximation to the annual production in all China, and estimates are likely to vary from 25,000 to 75,000 piculs. My own opinion is, and this is based upon inquiries made in several parts of China, that Natives are inclined to exaggerate the quantity of opium this country produces. They have no statistics to guide them in their judgments, and when questioned by foreigners as to the quantity of Opium of Native origin produced, I think they show an inclination to represent it as greater than facts would warrant, in order to point out that its increased production is driving the Foreign drug from the field.

In the report of the delegates of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce on the Upper Yangtze, which was made in 1869, it is estimated that the quantity of the Szechwan growth alone amounts to 50,000 piculs yearly. This estimate was considered by many to be excessive, and yet there are travellers who testify that it is

now the staple production of Szechwan, the so-called garden of China. Ten years ago it was estimated that the provinces of Yünnan and Kweichow annually yielded 20,000 piculs and 15,000 piculs respectively; but it now appears that the extensive growth of the former province has been transferred to Szechwan, where "the poppy has found a genial and well-watered soil, and, by reason of the great internal trade and means of communication, a ready market also."

Opium is now grown extensively in many provinces. I have recently learned through an American missionary, Mr. John Thorne, who returned a few weeks ago from a tour in the province of Anhwei, that in many of the districts of that province, but chiefly those situated on the north bank of the Yangtze, there are acres and acres of ground devoted to nothing but the cultivation of the poppy, and he states that, notwithstanding a heavy tax and the extortion of officials, the people find this much more lucrative than ordinary grains; if this be true, its cultivation is not likely to decrease.

The amount said to be produced in all China yearly is given in the return as 77,000 piculs, and this general estimate I have arrived at as follows:—

Province of Szechwan	.	.	.	Piculs	30,000
" " Yünnan	.	.	.	"	12,000
" " Kweichow	.	.	.	"	10,000
" " Honan	.	.	.	"	7,000
" " Chèhkiang	.	.	.	"	3,500
" " Hupeh	.	.	.	"	3,000
" " Kiangsu	.	.	.	"	2,500
Other provinces	.	.	.	"	4,000
Manchuria	.	.	.	"	5,000
Total Yield					<u>Piculs 77,000</u>

In the southern provinces this Native Opium, I am assured, is very seldom prepared for smoking by itself, but is almost wholly used to adulterate Malwa; that is to say, the prepared Opium to be found in nearly every shop is a mixture of the Foreign with the Native drug. It is a curious fact that no purely prepared Malwa, nor any purely prepared Native Opium, can be purchased

for smoking at this port. If these statements are correct, it would seem that the great increase in the growth of Opium in China is to be accounted for from the fact that dealers have found it to be profitable to admix it with the Indian production, and I am told that in its preparation two-tenths of the Native is added to eight-tenths of the Foreign. Persian Opium is also imported for admixture with Malwa, and in the same proportion, and it therefore costs at a smoking room, when prepared, the same per mace as Malwa, *i.e.* *Hk.Tls.* 0.0.6.0.

4.—The habit is not easily given up after smoking from 6 to 12 months. By this I mean that smokers with good constitutions might give up the habit readily after six months' indulgence, whereas smokers in feeble state of health would not be able to do so. But from the inquiries which I have made it would seem that strong, healthy men find it difficult to abstain entirely after having smoked one year.

I have, &c.,

ERNEST T. HOLWILL,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Assistant-in-Charge.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIP- TION OF OPIMUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.		100 Catties Unprepared sell for		The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for		Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.		Average Smokers consume daily.		Heavy Smokers consume daily.		One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.		One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.		Total Import last Year.		Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Kiangsi.		Said to be produced in all China yearly.		The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).		Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.	
	Catties.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes.	Hk. Tls.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Months.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.												
Malwa	73½	550	630	0.5	3 to 5	10 to 20	8 to 10	0.0.6.0	1,474.89	—	—	6 to 12	35.2.8.0	35.2.8.0												
Patna	51½	375	510	0.5	3 to 5	10 to 20	8 to 10	0.0.7.0	8.40	—	—	6 to 12	35.2.8.0	35.2.8.0												
Benares	51½	375	510	0.5	3 to 5	10 to 20	8 to 10	0.0.7.0	Nil.	—	—	6 to 12	35.2.8.0	35.2.8.0												
Persian	73½	405	630	0.5	3 to 5	10 to 20	8 to 10	0.0.6.0	169.93	—	—	6 to	35.2.8.0	35.2.8.0												
Native (Chinese)	No Native Opium sold or prepared at Kiukiang.															Nil.	200	77,000	—	—						

WUHU.

No. 86.
1879.

CUSTOM HOUSE, WUHU,
16th September 1879.

SIR,—IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Circular No. 64, Second Series :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :

I now have the honour to hand you, enclosed, the return called for, giving such particulars as I am able to supply.

As Benares and Persian are only smoked when mixed with other sorts of drug—the former with Patna, and the latter with Malwa, —I have not filled in any particulars in the spaces opposite them, in columns Nos. 5 to 9, and 13.

No Native Opium is supposed to be imported into this port, but there is no doubt that small quantities of it are smuggled in by passengers. It was formerly grown in this province to some extent, but this year there is said to be none at all, or perhaps a very small quantity grown in private gardens.

I have not been able to obtain any reliable information as to the quantity produced yearly in all China; but it appears to be the general belief that it exceeds the quantity of Foreign drug imported. Some say about half as much again; but as this is all mere guesswork, I have left that query unanswered.

I would remark that the numbers of years which I have given in the return as being the length of time a man must smoke before the habit takes such a hold on him as to be very difficult, if not impossible, to be given up, are those for a man of an ordinarily strong constitution. A weakly, debilitated person would be unable to give up the habit after indulging in it for a much shorter space of time.

I have, &c.,

J. LLOYD E. PALM,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Assistant-in-Charge.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING* RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Anh- wei.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties of Opium meant of Import Duty.
Malwa	Catties. Hk. Tls. Hk. Tls. Mace about about about about	75 530 549 2	about about	about about	Mace. Mace. Pipes. Hk. Tls. about about about 0.0.5.3	2,224.50	—	—	—	—	—	Years. Hk. Tl. about 10 16.7.7	
Patna	abt. 55 abt. 330 abt. 450 abt. 1.5	abt. 4 abt. 12 abt. 6	0.0.7.2	2.40	—	—	—	about 5	16.7.7				
Benares	abt. 55 abt. 313 abt. 450	Only smoked when mixed with Patna (see Patna).	Nil.	—	—	—	see Patna	16.7.7					
Persian	abt. 70 abt. 410 abt. 453	Only smoked when mixed with Malwa (see Malwa).	54	—	—	—	see Malwa	16.7.7					
Native (Chinese)	abt. 75 abt. 382 abt. 482 abt. 2	abt. 5 abt. 20 abt. 7	0.0.5.3	Nil.	At pre- sent almost nil.	(?)	abt. 10	about 9.7.0					

CHINKIANG.

No. 132.

CUSTOM HOUSE, CHINKIANG,

11th October 1879.

SIR,—In accordance with the instructions contained in your
Circular No. 64, Second Series :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :

I now beg to enclose a return giving the information called for.

I have, &c.,

F. KLEINWÄCHTER,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE
OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smoking Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Kiangsu.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Payment of Import Duty.
	Catties	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace	Mace	Mace	Pi. Ma.	Hk. Tls.	Pi. Ma.	Pi. Ma.	Pi. Ma.	Years.	Hk. Tls.
Malwa	75	5.8	342	1 to 2	3	5 to 6	20	0.0 4.7	8,639	—	—	3	16.0.0.0
Patna	50	3.35	346	1 to 2	3	5 to 6	20	0.0 5.0	736.80	—	—	3	16.0.0.0
Benares	75	3.15	324	1 to 2	3	5 to 6	20	0.0 4.5	936	—	—	3	16.0.0.0
Persian	50	4.25	448	1 to 2	3	5 to 6	20	0.0 4.0	644.97	—	—	3	16.0.0.0
Native (Chinese)	60	3.15	321	1 to 2	3	5 to 6	20	0.0 3.6	76.36	—	No information obtainable.	3	8.0.0.0

SHANGHAI.

No. 184.
1879.

CUSTOM HOUSE, SHANGHAI,
25th September 1879.

SIR,—IN compliance with the instructions conveyed in Circular No. 64, Second Series :

Proposing certain queries concerning the consumption of Opium :

I beg to enclose one of the prescribed forms, giving in detail, as accurately as the nature of the subject allowed, all the information asked for. It will of course be understood that on some of the points raised—those, namely, referring to the quantity of Opium produced in the country, and to the habits of Opium-smokers—it is impossible to give absolutely correct replies. I have extended my inquiries to all quarters, Native and Foreign, where I thought the most reliable information could be obtained, and the replies now given are the average outcome of the various opinions received.

I ought to explain that each chest of Opium, irrespective of weight, is charged so much for local taxes; and as a chest of Patna or Benares weighs 120 catties, the taxes on 100 catties of either kind are proportionately less than what would be charged on the same weight of Malwa or Persian.

I have, &c.,

J. McLEAVY BROWN,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner Officiating.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIMUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smoking Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Kiangsu.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay-
	Catties.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes.	Hk. Tls.	Piculs		Piculs	Years.	Hk. T.
Malwa	70	520	575	2	5	10	6	0.0.7.0	1,803	None produced in the southern portion of the province. In the prefecture of Hsuehow the poppy is said to be cultivated, but to what extent cannot be ascertained.	—	1 to 2	23.2
Patna	50	555	415	2	5	10	6	0.0.6.0	8,525		—	1 to 2	19.3
Benares	50	333	405	2	5	10	6	0.0.6.0	5,158		—	1 to 2	19.3
Persian	70	380	420	2	5	10	6	0.0.6.0	178		—	1 to 2	23.2
Native (Chinese)	70	400	435	2	5	10	6	0.0.5.0	733		About 75,000	3 to 4	11.6

NINGPO.

No. 81.
1879.CUSTOM HOUSE, NINGPO,
20th August 1879.

SIR,—IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Circular No. 64, Second Series, of 1879:

Opium: inquiries concerning consumption of:

I have the honour to hand you, enclosed, the Opium-smoking Return for this port, accompanied by an explanatory memo.

I have, &c.,

E. B. DREW,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE No. 1.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIP- TION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.	Total Import last Year	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Chih- kiang.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
	Catties.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes	Hk. Tls.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Months.	Hk. Tls.
Malwa	75	510	583.36	1	3	7 to 20	3 to 20	*0.0.4.3 Av. 10†0.0.3.5	Gross 7,060 Net 6,518	—	—	2 to 6	39.2.9.0
Patna	50	378	446.68	1	3	12 to 25	3 to 20	*0.0.5.0 Av. 10†0.0.3.9	Gross 410 Net, 400	—	—	2 to 6	34.5.8.0
Benares	50	354	423.68					Not smoked by itself	Gross 188 Net 170	—	—	Not smoked by itself.	34.5.8.0
Persian	75	331	408.36					Not smoked by itself	Gross 193 Net 164	—	—	Not smoked by itself.	39.2.9.0
Native (Chinese)	60	197	240	1	3	10 to 20	3 to 20	*0.0.3.1 Av. 10†0.0.2.4	—	10,000	At the least 265,000	2 to 6	Un- known

* If not smoked on the premises.

† If smoked on the premises.

ENCLOSURE No. 2.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN EXPLANATORY MEMO.

Column 3.—The average price of Foreign Opium for the six months, January to June, inclusive, 1879, is what I have given, and it happens to be within less than *Tls.* 10 of the price on the date of this return.

Column 4.—The boiling of Opium in Ningpo takes place principally at the “T’u Hang” (Fukien Opium dealers) or at the smoking rooms. Before this boiling commences, the Opium will have paid its *likin* and other taxes.

The labour, &c., of converting 100 catties of crude Malwa or Persian into 75 catties of prepared costs *Hk.Tls.* 33.07. Similarly, the labour for Bengal Opium costs *Hk.Tls.* 27.60 *plus* the value of the skins, *Hk.Tls.* 6.50; total, *Hk.Tls.* 34.10. Add the taxes in each case (*see* column 14), and we have *Hk.Tls.* 72.36 for Malwa and Persian, and *Hk.Tls.* 68.68 for Bengal. These sums added to the original cost of the unprepared drug give the result which I have set down in this return. But in actual practice at Ningpo the shops sell what they aver to be pure prepared Malwa—75 catties—for *Hk.Tls.* 520.80, and pure prepared Patna for *Hk.Tls.* 398.40. They can sell it at this low rate because it is not pure; it is mixed with ash, with Native Opium, and with Persian or Benares, as the case may be. This explains the low cost per mace at the smoking rooms.

Column 9.—If the price given in my table as the price of one mace of Opium at a smoking room (if not smoked on the premises) be taken as the basis of a calculation, it will appear that the cost of 75 catties of Malwa would be *Hk.Tls.* 520.80, and the price of 50 catties of Patna would be *Hk.Tls.* 398.40. This is considerably less than the price of the pure unprepared drug as shown in column 4.

Column 11.—In the Customs *Annual Trade Reports* for 1877, p. 115, are given two estimates of the production of the province of Chêhkiang, viz., 10,000 piculs and 16,000 piculs. I here adopt the lower one.

Column 12.—I arrive at the amount given in the return for the annual production of all China in the following manner :—

Szechwan (Richthofen) . . .	Piculs 60,000 to 100,000
Yünnan (more than Szechwan, according to Baber) . . .	„ 80,000
Kweichow (H. E. Hobson, 1868)	„ 15,000
Chêhkiang	„ 10,000
Shantung (C. L. Simpson) . . .	„ 300
<hr/>	
Total	Piculs 165,300
<hr/>	

There remain the Opium-growing provinces of Kansuh, Shensi, Shansi, and Honan, also Mongolia and Manchuria; and from the general descriptions given of many of them by various writers, especially Richthofen, we may presume that they do not produce less than 100,000 piculs. Total, 265,000 piculs.

Column 14, and last.—Particulars may be found in the Customs “Annual Report on Trade for Ningpo for 1877,” p. 108 of the volume. So far as can be ascertained, no Native Opium is imported here. The taxes on Chêhkiang Opium at the place of production amount to *Hk.Tls.* 7.06 per picul; but the fees (or *douceurs*) paid at Ningpo cannot be ascertained.

E. B. DREW,

Commissioner of Customs.

WENCHOW.

No. 53.

CUSTOM HOUSE, WENCHOW,

21st August 1879.

SIR,—THE following replies to Circular No. 64, Second Series, 10th July 1879 :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :
are the result of careful local inquiries made by Mr. Chun Yü and Mr. Donovan, of this staff. But the great difficulty—perhaps impossibility—of obtaining accurate information on all the points desired must necessarily cause some of the replies to be con-

sidered approximative rather than absolute. The endeavour, however, has been to obtain information as closely as possible correct. Mr. Chun has gathered his chiefly from the Native hong, while Mr. Donovan's is the result of visits personally made to some of the Opium-smoking rooms and divans in this city, which his knowledge of the local dialect enabled him profitably to undertake. Although not agreeing on every point, as no two independent inquirers would be likely to do, there is sufficient similarity to justify a general confidence in the trustworthiness of the whole results obtained. These are set forth in the enclosed printed form; the figures in Roman type representing Mr. Chun's information, while Mr. Donovan's are noted in thick type.

1°.—Of Malwa Opium, 55 to 70 catties of boiled or prepared Opium are obtained from 100 catties of crude or unprepared drug; Patna, 50 to 55 catties are the result; and in the case of Native, 60 catties.

2°.—The price of 100 catties of Malwa Opium, unprepared, is *Hk.Tls.* 566; prepared, *Hk.Tls.* 582 to 627: Patna, unprepared, *Hk.Tls.* 378; prepared, *Hk.Tls.* 607: and Native, unprepared, *Hk.Tls.* 178 to *Hk.Tls.* 200; prepared, *Hk.Tls.* 278 to 334.

3°.—The amount of prepared Opium smoked daily is—(a) by beginners, 3 to 6 candareens; (b) by average smokers, 2 to 3 mace; and (c) by heavy smokers, 4 to 8 mace. On this point much depends upon the idiosyncrasy of the person concerned, and no exact amount can be laid down. The figures given represent the usual consumption at the three stages, but it may be exceeded in the last item, and probably is in extreme cases, where the smoker ultimately dies of the habit.

4°.—One mace of prepared Opium, Malwa or Native, will fill from 4 to 7 pipes, while Patna will fill from 3 to 7 pipes. The highest figure must, I think, include the quantity re-smoked, i.e. with the ashes. In this precious article it appears that after a newly-charged pipe has been smoked, a certain residue of ashes remains; these, being too valuable to throw away, are again used—in some cases mixed with fresh Opium. The poorest class of smokers have to be content with a smoke of this description.

5°.—The price of 1 mace of prepared Malwa Opium at the smoking rooms varies from 5 candareens 2 *cash* to 5 candareens 6 *cash*; Patna costs 6 candareens 9 *cash*; and Native, from 2 candareens 9 *cash* to 3 candareens 5 *cash*. The range in rates may be supposed to arise from the status of the shop being higher or lower in the scale of respectability. Here there are humble establishments which devote themselves to supplying coolies and men of the lower orders generally, and whose rates are no doubt framed to suit the means of their customers; while a better style of divan, with superior furniture, would charge higher rates, and probably give a better quality of opium to the class of shopkeepers and merchants frequenting them. I am informed by Mr. Donovan that in this city there are 800 smoking shops, and if the times are flourishing this number increases up to 1,000. He gives the number of Opium-smokers at 60 per cent. of the males and 5 per cent. of the females.

6°.—The total quantity of unprepared Opium of Foreign origin imported last year, as shown by the Customs Returns, is—Malwa 3 piculs, and Patna 10.80 piculs. The quantity imported by junk or overland must be considerable to supply the consumption which takes place, but there are no reliable means of ascertaining what the amount is. Benares and Persian Opium are not in use at this port, and therefore are not embraced in the inquiries which have been instituted in satisfaction of the Circular under acknowledgment.

7°.—The total quantity of Native Opium, unprepared, produced in this province is variously estimated from 8,000 piculs to 10,000 piculs, which are distributed as follows:—

	Mr. CHUN.	Mr. DONOVAN.
	<u>Piculs.</u>	<u>Piculs.</u>
In the prefecture of Wénchow	3,000	3,000
" " Taichow	3,500	3,000
" " Ningpo	1,500	4,000
Total . . .	<u>8,000</u>	<u>10,000</u>

Perhaps it will be safe to consider it as something between these two amounts, say, 9,000 piculs. It would be too hazardous to venture even a guess upon the total quantity produced in all China. No data exist for its calculation so far as I am aware, and no one to whom I have applied possesses any knowledge on the subject whatever. From the itineraries of various missionaries and travellers to distant parts of China, the quantity may safely be assumed as very large, for the Opium which they saw the natives smoking could hardly have come from abroad, and must therefore have been of home production. In Mr. Cameron's account of a journey to Eastern Thibet, he records the fact of people smoking Opium who had probably no cognizance of the existence of other countries much beyond their own borders. Their poverty, moreover, would have placed the consumption of Foreign Opium far beyond their reach (*see* "China's Millions" for June 1879).

8^o.—As to the length of time when the habit of smoking takes such a hold as to make it impossible or very difficult to give it up, only a general answer can be given. So much depends upon the moral will, the bodily constitution, and general health of the person concerned—and this varies greatly in different individuals, so that no time will apply to all alike. With some it is easy to break off after one year, without the aid of medicine; others, if assisted by medicine, can discontinue after smoking two or three years; but if the habit has been indulged in for six or seven years it then becomes extremely difficult to abstain, even with the aid of medicine. Various missionary writers who have published their views on this subject—and it is mainly the missionary class who have felt the interest and taken the trouble to do so, as being in their line of duty,—are pretty generally agreed on the following points:—(a) Opium-smoking is an acquired habit, and is not pleasant to the novice; (b) the pipe is usually resorted to in the first instance to alleviate pain or control sickness; (c) the smoker who takes his pipe at stated and regular intervals becomes a greater slave to the habit than he who smokes at irregular intervals—the first cannot break off the habit without extreme difficulty, while the latter, if he chooses, can do so; (d) temperate

smokers do not visibly injure their health by the indulgence; (e) intemperate ones ruin their bodily constitutions, and their property is gradually dissipated; (f) they die early, and mostly in misery. In this connexion the following works may more especially be consulted:—Williams's "Middle Kingdom," vol. ii. pp. 382 to 397; Lockhart's "The Medical Missionary in China," pp. 352 to 362; Doolittle's "Social Life of the Chinese," vol. ii. pp. 349 to 362; Muirhead's "China and the Gospel," pp. 110 to 127; and A. E. Moule's "Essay on Opium," pp. 352 to 362 of the "Missionary Conference in Shanghai in 1877."

9°.—After paying import duty, the only charge or tax levied here, as far as I can ascertain, is a likin duty of *Tls.* 40 or less per picul, which franks the article as far as the borders of the province. This amount is not exceeded, and it may sometimes be lowered, and is so in some cases to the extent of returning *Tls.* 6. Much depends upon the importer; if his transactions are large, he probably meets with more handsome treatment from the likin office than one whose dealings are on a smaller scale. The above likin duty refers to Foreign Opium. Native Opium does not appear to be taxed, because theoretically its existence is not recognised. In practice, no doubt a charge or duty of some kind is made, the amount being a matter of arrangement between the owner and the authorities.

I have, &c.

J. MACKEY,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Assistant-in-Charge.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIP- TION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Ché- kiang.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
Malwa	Catties. 70 55 to 70	Hk. Tls. 5'6 566	Hk. Tls. 582 627	Mace 0.6 0.3 to 0.4	Mace 3 2	Mace 8 4 to 5	Pipes 7 4 to 5	Hk. Tls. 0.052 0.053	Piculs. 3	Piculs. —	Piculs. —	Years. Uncer- tain. 2 to 3	Hk. Tl. 40.0. or less 40.0.0
Patna	55 50	378 378	607 607	0.6 0.3 to 0.4	3 2	8 4 to 5	7 3 to 4	0.069 0.069	10.80	—	—	Uncer- tain. 2 to 3	40.0. or less 40.0.0
Benares	Not in use at this port.												
Persian	Not in use at this port.												
Native (Chi- nese)	60 60	178 200	278 334	0.6 0.3 to 0.4	3 2	8 4 to 5	7 4 to 5	0.029 0.035	Not known Do.	8,000 10,000	Not known Do.	Uncer- tain. 2 to 3	Not fix 40.0.0

FOOCHOW.

No. 114.

CUSTOM HOUSE, FOOCHOW,

28th August 1879.

SIR,—IN accordance with the terms of the instructions contained in your Circular No. 64, Second Series, of 10th July 1879:

Opium: inquiries concerning consumption of:

I have now the honour to forward you, enclosed, the return called for.

In connexion with the figures supplied, I have to state that columns 5, 6, and 7, giving quantities of Opium consumed daily by different classes of smokers, are, of course, but approximate; but the particulars have this to support the probability of accuracy, that they are furnished by one who has not only gone through the

three stages referred to under the respective headings of those columns, but can also add his experience under the last column but one, as he has given up the habit three times, and supposes himself to have done so now finally.

The number of pipes which a mace of Opium will fill depends on the size, and in this respect there is great variety.

The quantity at which the Fukien growth is estimated is given me as very fairly reliable. The cultivation is principally in that part of the province bordering on Chêhkiang; but I presume that the statement that 1,000 piculs are produced in this or any other province would find flat contradiction in official quarters, and render this part of the return very unpalatable, if not treasonable, if reported to the Tsungli Yamên.

I can neither form nor gather any idea of the figures required for the column with reference to the yearly growth in all China.

I have, &c.,

C. HANNEN,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire, *Commissioner of Customs.*
Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPUM.	100 Cattles Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Cattles Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Cattles of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Fukien.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Cattles after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
	Cattles.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes.	Hk. Tls.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Years.	Hk. Tls.
Malwa .	70	520	550	0.3	2	10	5 to 16	0.0.5.4	1,432.60	—	—	10	75.8.8.0
Patna .	50	336	368	0.3	2	10	5 to 16	0.0.6.0	1,715.61	—	—	10	75.8.8.0
Benares .	50	335	355	0.3	2	10	5 to 16	0.0.5.8	231.60	—	—	10	75.8.8.0
Persian .	68	377	407	0.3	2	10	5 to 16	0.0.4.7	625.50	—	—	10	75.8.8.0
Native (Chinese)	80	286	319	0.3	2	10	5 to 16	0.0.3.0	—	1,000	—	10	28.2.1.3

TAMSUI.

No. 65.

CUSTOM HOUSE, TAMSUI.

23rd August 1879.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to forward you, on a separate sheet of paper, the return called for in your Circular No. 64, Second Series, relative to the consumption of Opium.

Touching Native drug, I understand that a small quantity finds its way into the port; but none has passed the likin. It is used chiefly for the purpose of adulterating Foreign Opium.

I have, &c.,

WALTER LAY.

TO ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

[illegible]

TAKOW.

No. 55.CUSTOM HOUSE, TAKOW,
28th August 1879.

SIR,—IN forwarding you the “Opium-smoking Return,” called for by your Circular No. 64, Second Series, of this year, I have to regret that to some of the inquiries I have been unable to obtain any reliable replies, while even in some of these cases where I have filled in the form I have been unable to “ensure correctness” such as is desired, owing to the conflicting statements given me, and to other causes which I will endeavour to explain *seriatim*.

As regards—

Column 2.—Preparing Opium from the crude drug. Owing to Opium being generally boiled in small quantities here, no accurate account of the out-turn is in most cases kept, while the addition of adulterating ingredients—the ashes of Opium already smoked, molasses, &c.—increases the difficulty of arriving at an accurate result. I may add, too, that even where Opium is boiled in any quantity by the large dealers and sold in its prepared state, it is often for the sake of mixing with the sound some damaged drug, difficult otherwise to dispose of,—and the different qualities, especially with the Persian drug, give different results. The figures, therefore, in this column are only approximately accurate.

Column 3.—The prices of unprepared Opium of the various sorts as given in this column are a fair average.

Column 4.—The value of the yield of 100 catties of the crude drug is affected by the causes mentioned under column 2, and allowance should be made for the cost of the ingredients added in the process of preparation.

Column 5.—Beginners smoke daily? I have put down 1 mace as a fair figure; but accounts vary considerably—in fact, from “a few whiffs” up to 2 mace.

Columns 6 and 7.—Average and heavy smokers consume daily? Accounts here also vary greatly, and the consumption appears to vary with the quality of the drug.

Column 8.—One mace of prepared Opium will fill how many

pipes? I have endeavoured to ascertain this point as correctly as possible, but attempts at accuracy are frustrated by the fact that the pipes are of no fixed size. Smokers are accommodated with small or large pipes according to their requirements.

Column 9.—The cost of one mace of prepared Opium in the smoking room is as given in the form. The reason that Malwa and Persian are cheaper than the other two kinds is that their yield of prepared drug from the crude is proportionately greater.

Column 10.—The total import is taken from last year's Returns, and is correct as far as the Foreign bottoms are concerned. There are no means of ascertaining what amount, if any, came in in Native vessels.

Columns 11 and 12.—Produce of (a) province and (b) China. It is not in my power to obtain any reliable information at this port.

Column 13.—The general opinion as to the time after which the habit becomes confirmed differs considerably, some saying two or three months, and others as many years. I fancy that it is impossible to lay down any rule where so much must depend upon the individual, a man of feeble constitution and indolent habits proving a more easy victim than a man of a vigorous habit of body and active disposition.

Column 14.—The only tax leviable after payment of import duty is the likin, which is as given.

In conclusion, I can only assure you that I believe I am furnishing you with all the information it is in my power to collect.

I have, &c.,

F. A. MORGAN,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Assistant-in-Charge.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.



ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium Costs at a Smok- ing Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Fu- kien.	Said to be produced in all (China yearly).	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
Malwa	80	400	530	1	4	11	10	0.0 15	19 74	No reliable informa- tion can be obtained.	No reliable informa- tion can be obtained.	Opinions vary so con- siderably that figures are omitted.	243.0.0
Patna	53	350	460	1	3	8	12	0.0 6.0	38.40				41.5.0.0
Benares	53	350	450	1	3	8	12	0.0 6.0	1,480.44				41.5.0.0
Persian	76	420	520	1	4	11	10	0.0 15	1,229.14				243.0.0
Native (Chinese)	No appreciable quantity imported.												

AMOY.

No. 142.

CUSTOM HOUSE, AMOY,

13th October 1879.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular No. 64, Second Series, dated 10th July :

Opium : inquiries as to consumption of :

and, in reply, beg to enclose herewith, in the return form provided, answers to most of the queries put.

I much regret being unable to furnish any but the most meagre information relative to the annual production of Native Opium in the Fukien province. The invariable answer one gets is that the

culture of the poppy plant is prohibited, and that statistics as to yield, even if furnished, would be simply unreliable.

I should point out that Malwa Opium is not in favour with the smokers of this district, and that the process of inspissation of all drug is attended during hot weather, as compared with cold, by a loss of at least five per cent.

I have, &c.,

H. E. HOBSON.

To ROBERT HART, Esquire, *Commissioner of Customs.*
Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

[illegible]

SWATOW.

No. 104.

CUSTOM HOUSE, SWATOW,

29th August 1879.

SIR,—In accordance with the terms of your Circular No. 64,
Second Series, of 1879 :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :

I have now the honour to send you, herein enclosed, the return
called for.

I have, &c.,

A. HUBER,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIP- TION OF OPICK.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared Opium	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Kwangtung.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
Malwa	Catties 72	Hk Tls 570	Hk Tls 585	Mace 0.5 to 1.5	Mace 1 to 4	Mace 5 to 7	Pipah 10 to 20	Hk Tls 0.054	Piculs 3,510.53	Piculs —	Piculs —	After three years; but of course it greatly depends upon the smoker's constitution and mental energy, and also upon medical assistance.	Hk Tls 37.5.9.5
Patna	53	440	465	0.5 to 1.5	2 to 4	5 to 7	10 to 20	0.054	3,510.53	—	—	—	39.6.3.3
Benares	57	420	445	1 to 2	2 to 5	6 to 8	10 to 20	0.052	1,320.96	—	—	—	39.6.3.3
Persian	75	450	475	1 to 2	2 to 5	6 to 8	10 to 20	0.043	Nil.	—	—	—	37.5.9.5
Native (Chinese)	65	250	275	2 to 3	4 to 6	7 to 12	10 to 20	0.030	Nil.	Nil.	Impos- sible to find out.	After three years; but of course it greatly depends upon the smoker's constitution and mental energy, and also upon medical assistance.	Impos- sible to find out.

CANTON.

No. 138.

I.G.

CUSTOM HOUSE, CANTON,

28th October 1879.

SIR,—In pursuance of the instructions of your Circular No. 64, Second Series, of the 10th July :

Opium : inquiries concerning consumption of :

I have the honour to enclose the return required, together with an explanatory memorandum and sub-enclosure. The return and memorandum have been put together by Mr. Acheson, who has endeavoured to make them accurate and complete.

I beg to express my regrets at the delay which has taken place. I have from time to time had four employés of this office, not including Mr. Acheson, engaged in collecting information. It was easily enough got, but each differed from the other so immensely that I could not bring myself to forward anyone's compilation. Mr. Acheson finally set to work to make the best he could out of the others' reports, and the result is that which I now forward. He has besides literally gone from shop to shop in search of facts. The return, to be thoroughly comprehended, must be read together with the memorandum.

I have, &c.,

E. McKEAN,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE No. 1.
OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIP- TION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.		100 Catties Unprepared sell for		The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for		Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.		Average Smokers consume daily		Heavy Smokers consume daily		One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.		One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.		Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Kwangtung.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Payment of Import Duty.	
	Catties.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace	Mace	Mace	Pipes	Hk. Tls.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Years.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.								
Malwa	70	580	610	1	2	8	15	0.05.4	14,700	{	{	10	45.8.3.2	42.5.9.0								
Patna	55	440	432	1	2	8	15	0.05.2				10	49.1.9.6	42.5.9.0								
Benares	52	418	410	1	2	8	15	0.04.8				10	49.1.9.6	42.5.9.0								
Persian	65	400	390	1	2	8	15	0.03.9				10	45.8.3.2	42.5.9.0								
Native (Chinese)	50	380	350	1	2	8	15	0.03.9	—	Nil.	12,000	10	—	—								

ENCLOSURE No. 2.

MEMORANDUM explanatory of particulars given in "OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN," called for in CIRCULAR No. 64, SECOND SERIES, and forwarded to the INSPECTORATE GENERAL OF CUSTOMS from the Port of CANTON.

The information by means of which the accompanying return is compiled has been derived from various sources. During the prosecution of my inquiries in the matter, the testimony received was so conflicting as to convince me that a mere series of figures without comment would be insufficient to convey an accurate impression on the subject or represent absolutely the facts required. It is hoped, therefore, that the following remarks, although devoid

of any attempt at exhaustiveness, may yet be found of assistance in perusing the figures to which they refer. The several paragraphs are numbered consecutively from 1° to 9°, and are intended to reply, one by one, to the various questions contained in the body of the Circular.

1°.—The quantity of prepared Opium yielded by a given weight of unprepared drug depends very much upon the experience and skill of the operator by whom the process of preparation is conducted, and the result will in any case be a greater or less quantity in proportion to the age of the article, the prepared produce of new Opium being almost 10 per cent. higher than that of old. The figures which appear under this heading in the return are what are considered to be the average results obtained. Malwa and Persian Opium yield in preparation almost equally and much more fruitfully than Patna and Benares, the thickness of the skin which envelops each ball of the latter two kinds widening considerably the proportion between the weight yielded by manufacture for smoking and the gross weight of the article in its crude state. The quality of Native Opium and, consequently, its yield in preparation vary according to the situation of the producing district; the many impurities in the article, too, owing to defects in primary manufacture, tend to decrease its value and make it compare unfavourably with that imported from India.

2°.—The amounts entered to represent the wholesale prices of unprepared and of prepared Opium are the present market values in Canton.

3°.—On commencing the use of Opium a man smokes about 1 mace per day, gradually increasing the quantity to 2 or perhaps 3 mace; at this stage he may be designated an average smoker, being as a general rule able to throw aside the habit if necessary, or continue it without proceeding to excess. Heavy smokers consume daily from 6 to 8 mace, and some even a tael or more of Opium. Those indeed who go so far as to exceed 3 or 4 mace per day may be considered as degenerating into heavy smokers, as the habit then commences to obtain a mastery over them which they rarely succeed in being able to overcome.

4°.—One mace of prepared Opium will, as a rule, fill from 10 to 20 pipes, the number varying according to whether the individual be a heavy or a light smoker. To produce the desired effect, a heavy smoker will require a large pipeful, and will consequently be unable to fill more than 10 or 15 pipes from one mace of Opium, whereas a light smoker will economise his material to such an extent as to make the same quantity do duty for 20 or even 30 pipes. The number given in the return is 15, and may be regarded as a fair average.

5°.—The retail price of prepared Opium per mace in Canton is at present from 3 candareens 9 *cash* to 5 candareens 4 *cash* for Foreign drug, and 3 candareens 9 *cash* for Native. Those who frequent smoking rooms, however, pay at a slightly higher rate than this, in consequence of their being supplied with the necessary utensils for indulgence, such as pipes, lamps, &c.; they are also obliged to hand over to the proprietors of the establishments the dross or ashes left from smoking, as payment for oil used.

6°.—The total quantity of unprepared Foreign Opium imported into Canton last year, as taken from the *Annual Returns of Trade*, was Malwa 98.95 piculs, and Patna 671.55 piculs. The similarity in appearance, however, between Patna and Benares Opium is frequently productive of mistakes in distinguishing between the two kinds, and from the above quantity of 671.55 piculs, as much as 130 piculs may be deducted and regarded as Benares Opium. Further, the actual importation of the article into Canton cannot be considered as accurately represented by the foregoing figures; a much greater quantity is brought in by junks paying duty at the Native Custom House, and the steamers plying between Hongkong and Macao conveyed last year into the latter port nearly 7,000 chests. Much of this would be prepared in Macao and locally consumed or re-exported to various places, but a large amount would be transported into Chinese territory, finding its way to Canton and places in the neighbourhood. According to the tables given in the *China Mail* of the 6th January 1879, the quantity of Opium retained in Hongkong for local consumption during 1878 was 19,700 piculs. If from this we deduct 5,000 piculs to

represent, and very fairly to, the amount actually consumed in Hongkong and Macao, and re-exported to countries where the Chinese have settled, there will still remain the large quantity of 14,700 piculs, the ultimate destination of which can only be regarded as China *via* the seaports of Canton and Macao. As it has been perfectly impossible to find out how much of each kind of Foreign Opium is represented by the foregoing figures, there has been no resource left but to enter the total quantity in the return under one general heading. In the issue of the *China Mail* referred to above, no Malwa Opium at all is mentioned as having been "taken by local consumers" in Hongkong. Our Annual Returns, however, show that at least 98.95 piculs were exported from the colony to Canton, and although Malwa Opium meets with very little demand in our local markets, it may yet be safe to place its importation at 500 piculs, leaving the remaining 14,200 piculs to represent the importation of Patna and Benares Opium. The quantity of Persian drug imported at Canton during 1878 was probably *nil*. (Mr. Commissioner Bredon, in his report on the trade of Canton for the year 1876, has treated exhaustively the subject of Opium importation in its relations to the province of Kwangtung.)

7°.—So far as I can ascertain, there is no Opium grown in this province. The possibility of ascertaining the quantity produced yearly in all China is very doubtful. The cultivation of the poppy being theoretically prohibited, no statistics exist from which reliable data can be obtained, and the various persons from whom I have sought information on the subject have either declared themselves utterly unable to afford any satisfactory answers, or have framed their replies to my inquiries in such a manner as to convince me that their communications were merely the results of guesswork. The accompanying figures, namely, 12,000 piculs, are simply intended to represent the average of the several quotations with which I have been furnished, some of these having gone as high as 19,000 piculs, and some as low as 5,000 piculs per annum; but, indeed, 50,000 piculs per annum would probably be much nearer the actual quantity.

8°.—Although the amount of effort necessary to enable a smoker to give up the use of Opium depends very considerably upon the period of time during which he has been addicted to the practice, still the quantity which he has consumed daily, and, consequently, the firmness with which the drug has established itself among the wants of his system, cannot fail to be of serious importance. The power, too, of putting forth the requisite effort will be in proportion to the character, physical constitution, and age of the individual. In all cases collateral assistance in the form of medicines can be resorted to, but this, as a rule, proves of slight aid when there is no natural strength of mind upon which to rely for the strenuous and continued exertion, without which the craving cannot be overcome. The general opinion seems, however, to be that if a man smoke 8 mace of Opium per day, he will in any case at the end of 10 years find it very difficult, if not impossible, to give up the habit. And yet this statement must be advanced with some reservation, certain facts which I have elicited tending to show that even the number of years devoted to the practice, taken together with the quantity daily consumed, cannot be regarded as absolutely indicative of the difficulty encountered in throwing aside the habit. The propensity becomes sooner and more deeply rooted in some systems than in others, and it may in reality be said that once the liking for Opium has become so strong as to impel a man to smoke regularly, in quantities however small, there will necessarily be much self-denial required in order to discontinue the indulgence. A case has even occurred in which a man, after having smoked for only one year, consuming the moderate quantity of 2 mace per day, has been unable to give up the habit without considerable difficulty and the use of medicine. In illustration of this a table is enclosed, embodying particulars regarding 50 Opium-smokers who have at different periods become patients of the Medical Missionary Society's local hospital, with a view to being cured of the habit. The facts have been communicated by Dr. Kerr, of Canton, whose knowledge on the subject is the result of personal experience.

9°.—After payment of import duty, crude Opium of Foreign origin is subject to the following taxes before it can become a legal article of traffic:—

MALWA AND PERSIAN OPIUM.

	<i>Hk. Tls.</i>
Likin, per picul	6.4.8.1
T'iehhsiang, per picul	14.8.1.5
'Haifang, per package of 3 catties, <i>Hk. Tls.</i> 0.6.2.5, or, per picul	20.8.3.3
Hsiao'hao, per package of 3 catties, <i>Hk. Tls.</i> 0.1.1.1, or, per picul	3.7.0.3
Total	<u><u><i>Hk. Tls.</i> 45.8.3.2</u></u>

PATNA AND BENARES OPIUM.

	<i>Hk. Tls.</i>
Likin, per picul	6.4.8.1
T'iehhsiang, per picul	14.8.1.5
'Haifang, per ball of from $2\frac{3}{4}$ catties to 3 catties, <i>Hk. Tls.</i> 0.6.9.4, or, per picul, about	24.0.0.0
Hsiao'hao, per ball of from $2\frac{3}{4}$ catties to 3 catties, <i>Hk. Tls.</i> 0.1.1.1, or, per picul, about	3.9.0.0
Total	<u><u><i>Hk. Tls.</i> 49.1.9.6</u></u>

The 'Haifang and Hsiao'hao duties being levied on Opium at so much per piece, the amounts payable on a given weight are in the case of Patna and Benares Opium subject to variation. Each package of Malwa and Persian Opium, however, weighing exactly 3 catties, the duty per picul on these two kinds may be regarded as stationary. Prepared Opium, after payment of import duty, is taxed as follows:—

	<i>Hk. Tls.</i>
Likin, per picul	12.9.6.0
T'iehhsiang, per picul	29.6.3.0
Total	<u><u><i>Hk. Tls.</i> 42.5.9.0</u></u>

In addition to these recognised charges, there exist numberless petty levies claimed from the dealers by official underlings; and although these exactions may not be either legal or known to the authorities, yet their existence cannot be without a good deal of influence on the price and sale of the article.

It may be well to state, in conclusion, that the foregoing remarks are intended to bear upon the subject as viewed in connexion with Canton and its neighbourhood. The preparation of Opium may not be attended by the same results in other places, while its use may be productive of effects more or less serious under different phases of climate.

JAMES ACHESON,
3rd Assistant, A.

SUB-ENCLOSURE.

PARTICULARS regarding 50 CASES of OPIUM-SMOKING, treated by
Dr. KERR, of the MEDICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S HOSPITAL,
CANTON.

NAME.	Age.	Has smoked.	Daily Con- sump- tion.	NAME.	Age.	Has smoked.	Daily Con- sump- tion.
	Years.	Years.	Mace.		Years.	Years.	Mace.
T'eng Hsieh	55	1	2	Tu I	33	8	5
Chên P'ang	30	2	2	Chên Lianghao...	47	9	3
Chên Lien.....	26	2	1	Chên Ho	39	9	4
Chou Ch'i.....	29	2	1	Liang Tzufang ...	59	9	4
Pan Yao	25	3	2	Chiang Ting.....	32	9	5
Yeh Chao	22	3	1	Liang Jung	53	9	3
Pan Chiang	30	3	2	Pan Fu	42	9	2
Ho Chao	36	4	4	Yang Pei	37	10	4
Liang Hsingju...	56	4	3	Chên Kuanti.....	30	10	1
Pang Fêngwei...	39	4	4	Shih Ngan.....	31	10	4
Pang Chihhsien...	23	4	3	Ho Kaijung	34	10	7
Wen Hsien	25	4	3	Yeh Choming ...	32	10	5
Liang Tsuyun ...	29	5	5	Ho Lien.....	45	10	3
Chun Hung	29	5	5	Liu Huatè	36	10	6
Chung Ch'i	40	5	4	Pang Jihch'ü ...	30	10	8
Ho Chuehkuang	20	5	3	Tso Tséchien.....	33	10	6
Yang Hangmao	33	5	2	Ho Chikuang ...	33	10	3
Chang Ngan.....	28	5	3	Liu Ch'ü	37	10	1
Kuan Shêngli ...	31	5	2	Chang Yeh	31	10	5
Yang Chienchin	28	6	2	Liu Tung	50	10	1
Liu An	38	6	$\frac{7}{15}$	Yu Changpai.....	36	10	2
Pang Chojan ...	31	6	3	Liu Tsun	46	10	$\frac{7}{15}$
Lo Yu.....	39	8	2	Hsieh Piynan ...	43	15	5
Pang Chünshan	36	8	4	Lai Shao-sêng ...	38	20	7
Chên Hsiangohin	26	8	4	Liang Shun	38	20	3

KIUNGCHOW.

No. 72.

CUSTOM HOUSE, KIUNGCHOW,

15th September 1879.

SIR,—I now beg to forward the Opium-smoking Return called for in your Circular No. 64, Second Series, of 10th July 1879.

I have, &c.,

A. LAY,

Assistant-in-Charge.

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Mace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Mace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smoking Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Island of Hainan.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Payment of Import Duty.
	Catties.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Mace.	Mace.	Mace.	Pipes.	Hk. Tls.	Piculs	Piculs	Piculs	Months	Hk. Tl
Malwa	75 72 70	534.76 436.58 392.73	Unascertainable (none smoked here).						242.61	—	Unascertainable (none smoked here).		47.16
Patna	56½	392.73	456.79	0.6	2	4	20	0.0.6.2	730.99	—	—	4	39.66
Benares	51½	379.64	Unascertainable (none smoked here).						—	—	—	—	—
Persian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Native (Chinese)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

PAKHOL.

No. 56.

CUSTOM HOUSE, PAKHOL.

26th August 1879.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to forward, enclosed, the return concerning Opium-smoking called for by your Circular No. 64, Second Series.

I am unable to furnish any figure regarding the quantity of Opium produced yearly in all China. On the production of the three nearest provinces, the following figures are given to me:—

	<i>Piculs.</i>
Kwangsi	3,125
Kweichow	15,625
Yunnan	21,800

As regards the charges on Foreign Opium, I may remark that they include a Haifang duty of *Hk.Tls.* 22.72, of recent introduction. It is actually levied on the junks at Maliuchow, and I do not know whether it will bear on Opium brought to Pakhoi in Foreign steamers.

I have, &c.,

T. PIRY,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Assistant-in-Charge.

Inspector General of Customs, Peking.

ENCLOSURE.

OPIMUM-SMOKING RETURN.

DESCRIPTION OF OPIMUM.	100 Catties Unprepared Drug yield of Prepared Opium.	100 Catties Unprepared sell for	The Quantity of Prepared Opium yielded by 100 Catties of Unprepared Drug sells for	Beginners smoke daily of Prepared Opium.	Average Smokers consume daily.	Heavy Smokers consume daily.	One Nace of Prepared Opium will fill.	One Nace of Prepared Opium costs at a Smok- ing Room.	Total Import last Year.	Said to be produced yearly in the Province of Kwangtung.	Said to be produced in all China yearly.	The Habit is not easily given up after smoking (Years or Months).	Sum-total of Taxes leviable on 100 Catties after Pay- ment of Import Duty.
	Catties.	<i>Hk.Tls.</i>	<i>Hk. Tls.</i>	<i>Mace.</i>	<i>Mace.</i>	<i>Mace.</i>	<i>Pipes.</i>	<i>Hk.Tls.</i>	<i>Piculs.</i>	<i>Piculs.</i>	<i>Piculs.</i>	Months	<i>Hk.Tls.</i>
Malwa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Patna	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Banares	57	362.75	480.87	1	3 to 3	6 to 7	22	0.0.5.4	800	—	—	6	43.6.2.0
Bernian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Native (Chinese)	60	346.09	375.27	1	2 to 3	6 to 7	22	0.0.4.0	—	NIL.	(?)	6	11.5.2.0

HONGKONG STATISTICS.

TABLE showing the TOTAL ESTIMATED ANNUAL IMPORT of OPIUM at HONGKONG during each Year from 1859 to 1880, inclusive.

Year.	Quantity Imported. <i>Chests.</i>	Year.	Quantity Imported. <i>Piculs.</i>
1859 . .	54,863*	1870 . .	95,045
1860 . .	59,405*	1871 . .	89,744
1861 . .	60,012*	1872 . .	86,385
1862 . .	75,331*	1873 . .	88,382
1863 . .	62,025*	1874 . .	91,082
1864 . .	75,128*	1875 . .	84,619
	<i>Piculs.</i>	1876 . .	96,985
1865 . .	76,523	1877 . .	94,200
1866 . .	81,350	1878 . .	94,899
1867 . .	86,530	1879 . .	107,970
1868 . .	69,537	1880 . .	96,839
1869 . .	86,065		

* The figures for the years 1859 to 1864 are taken from a report of Mr. Commissioner Dick, dated 1st August 1872. It is there explained that the quantity stated is that exported from India to China for the year ending 30th April, i.e. the year set down here as 1859 actually represents the period from 1st May 1859 to 30th April 1860. No other statistics have been procurable.

CIRCULAR No. 2 OF 1864.

INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE, SHANGHAI.

17th February 1864.

SIR,—1.—I AM anxious to learn to what extent the sale of Native Opium has interfered during the last twelve months with that of Foreign drug in China; I have therefore to instruct you to make such inquiries, both among Chinese and Foreign dealers, as shall enable you to report to me on this subject. The queries to which I have particularly to call your attention are the following:—

- 1°. Has Native Opium been in use at your port during 1863?
- 2°. What quantity has been disposed of during the year?
- 3°. What has been the price, as compared with that of Foreign drug?

- 4°. From what province has it come?
- 5°. Has any, and if so, what quantity, been exported from your port during the year?
- 6°. Has the appearance of Native Opium in the market diminished the demand for Foreign drug either at your port or at marts supplied from your port?

2.—Any information, in addition to replies to these queries, that you can obtain, you will please forward, and you will endeavour to make your report as intelligible and comprehensive as you possibly can.

I am, &c.,

ROBERT HART,

Inspector-General.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS,

*Newchwang, Tientsin, Chefoo, Hankow, Kiukiang,
Chinkiang, Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy,
Swatow, and Canton.*

NEWCHWANG.

No. 2.

1864.

OFFICE OF MARINE CUSTOMS, YINGTzu,

20th April 1864.

SIR,—THE queries relative to Native Opium in your Circular No. 2, 1864, may be replied to as follows:—

- 1°. Native Opium has not been in use at this port since 1863.
- 2°. No sale during 1863. In 1861, about 8 piculs were sold at *Tls.* 300 per picul.
- *3°. When sold, the price averages one-half that of Foreign drug—say, *Tls.* 300 per picul.
- 4°. Comes from Shansi and Szechwan. About 200 piculs yearly reach Moukden by land, where it is used for mixing with Foreign Opium in equal proportions.
- 5°. None has been exported during the past year.

6°. Native Opium has not diminished the demand for Foreign drug, and does not appear to exercise any influence upon it. It is probable it may itself suffer from the import of its rival.

I have, &c.,

JAS. MACKAY,

ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General of Maritime Customs,

Shanghai.

TIENTSIN.

No. 5.
1864.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, TIENTSIN,
26th March 1864.

SIR,—IN reply to your Circular No. 2 of 1864, I beg to inform you that I have made every inquiry on the subject of Native Opium, and have gathered the following information:—

- 1°. Native Opium in Tientsin is not widely used, the consumers being principally of the lower class.
- 2°. The quantity actually disposed of during the year 1863 I find it next to impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty.
- 3°. The price of the drug has averaged about *Tls.* 500.
- 4°. It comes principally from the province of Shansi, but 14 chests were imported from Shanghai last year.
- 5°. None has been exported.
- 6°. Native drug is not supposed to affect the Foreign import market at all, but purchasers are careful in buying, as dealers are in the habit of mixing the two drugs. It is said 600 chests at *Tls.* 500 were consumed last year, but that portion of the information seems somewhat uncertain.

I have, &c.,

W. BAKER,

THE INSPECTOR GENERAL,

Shanghai.

Assistant-in-Charge.

CHEFOO.

No. 9.
1864.

CHEFOO, 8th March 1864.

SIR,—IN reply to the questions asked in your Circular No. 2 of 1864 on the subject of Native Opium, I have the honour to inform you that the result of my inquiries is that the consumption of that article at this place during the past year has been so small that it may be returned as *nil*. Such small quantity, however as has been consumed has been of a drug sold at *Tls.* 300 per picul. It has not influenced the sale of Foreign Opium in the slightest degree. It is brought here from Shensi, Shansi, and Yünnan, and is, I understand, largely consumed in Tsinan-fu and other marts north of this, which marts are supplied from Tientsin.

I have, &c.,

C. HANNEN,

To ROBERT HAET, Esquire, *Commissioner of Customs.*
Inspector General of Maritime Customs.

HANKOW.

No. 8.
1864.

OFFICE OF CUSTOMS, HANKOW,
16th March 1864.

SIR,—I BEG to lay before you the result of the inquiries which I have made regarding the trade in and consumption of Native Opium at this port, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Circular No. 2 of 1864.

Before the year 1860 the Native Opium consumed at Hankow was produced in the province of Shansi, but towards the end of 1859 the disturbances in the south-east of that province interrupted the communication between it and Hupeh to such an extent that the supply of Shansi Opium entirely ceased, and since this period Hankow has been provided with Native drug exclusively by the provinces of Szechwan and Hunan.

The consumption of Native Opium, however, at once decreased on Hankow being opened to Foreign trade.

This decrease is owing, in the first place, to the reduction in the price of Foreign Opium, which was the result of the greater facilities for transporting it from the port of import to Hankow, created by the opening of the Yangtze; and, in the second place, to the increase in the price of Native Opium which ensued on the ravages committed in the poppy fields of Szechwan by the rebel bands which infested that province.

Native Opium is about 30 per cent. cheaper than Foreign Opium, but this difference in price is compensated for by the greater strength of Foreign Opium, which enables an Opium-smoker to satisfy himself with a smaller quantity of Foreign than of Native Opium.

Opium dealers state that 2,000 piculs of Szechwan and Hunan Opium were brought to Hankow in 1860, but of this quantity a considerable portion was doubtless reshipped to Kiukiang and other ports down the river. In 1861 the supply was reduced to 1,500 piculs, whilst in 1862 only 800 piculs, and in 1863 only 500 piculs, reached Hankow.

On the other hand, Opium dealers are almost unanimous in stating that in 1860 Foreign drug, or, as they call it, Canton drug, was almost unknown in Hankow, and that during this and preceding years but a "few tens" of piculs annually made their appearance in the Hankow market.

In 1861, 250 piculs of Foreign Opium were imported. In 1862 an enormous increase took place, as Opium dealers inform me that the quantity imported must have amounted to 2,000 piculs.

In 1863, 1,466 piculs 60 catties were imported.

This decrease in the quantity of Foreign Opium imported in 1863 is owing—the Native dealers explain to me—to the fact that in 1862 the occupation by the Nienfei of Shuchow compelled the inhabitants of a large portion of the province of Anhwei to provide themselves with drug at Hankow, whilst the recapture of that city now enables them to draw their supplies from Yanchow and Sinniu-miao.

Malwa is the principal Foreign Opium imported; of the 1,466 piculs 60 cattles imported last year, 1,424 piculs were of Malwa.

The quantity of Native Opium exported is now very inconsiderable; only 43 piculs were exported during 1863.

I am, &c.,

A. MACPHERSON,

Acting Commisioner of Customs.

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Inspector General, Imperial Maritime

Customs, Shanghai.

KIUKIANG.

No. 7.
1864.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, KIUKIANG,
17th March 1864.

SIR,—I HAVE made inquiries of both Native and Foreign merchants, as you request in your Circular No. 2 of 1864, in relation to the sale of Native Opium, and find that it is not sold or used at this port.

There is a small quantity raised in the district of Kanchow, in this province, but it is not consumed at or near the place where it is raised; not any of it is brought to market. The quality is very inferior. Its estimated value is *Tls.* 200 per picul, while that of the Foreign drug is *Tls.* 570 per picul.

The production is estimated at 200 piculs for the last year, but its production depends upon the return of other crops; if plentiful, and the capital can be spared to do so, they raise a small quantity for their own consumption.

Its production in the district does not affect at all the sale of Foreign drug.

I have, &c.,

J. L. HAMMOND,

To ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Assistant-in-Charge.

Inspector General, &c., &c.

CHINKIANG.

No. 27.
1864.

OFFICE OF MARITIME, CUSTOMS, CHINKIANG,
12th September 1864.

SIR,—IN reply to your Circular despatch No. 2 of 17th February 1864, I have the honour to submit the following answers (deduced from careful and extensive inquiries made of both Chinese and Foreign dealers) to your queries respecting the trade in Native Opium at this port.

- 1°. Native Opium may be considered as not in use at this port.
- 2°. The import estimate is about 12 piculs per annum intended for re-exportation.
- 3°. The price is about three-fifths of the Foreign drug; say, *Tls.* 300, against *Tls.* 500.
- 4°. Is imported from the province of Yünnan.
- 5°. About 12 piculs re-exported, principally to a city called Chingchiang.
- 6°. The market here for foreign Opium does not appear to be diminished or in any material way affected by the introduction of the Native drug.

I am, &c.,

CHAS. A. LORD,
Acting Commissioner of Customs.
per A. J. CAMPBELL,

ROBERT HAET, Esquire,

Assistant.

*Inspector General, Imperial Maritime
Customs, Peking.*

SHANGHAI.

No. 8.
1864.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, SHANGHAI,
16th March 1864.

SIR,—IN reply to your Circular No. 2 of the 17th of February (which I received on the 24th), calling for information respecting the use of Native Opium at this port, I beg to state:—

- 1° and 2°. That the quantity of Native Opium disposed of at this port during 1863 is estimated at about 500 piculs.

- 3°. That its average price has been *Tls.* 375 per picul, while that of Foreign Opium has been—for Malwa, *Tls.* 530, and for Patna, *Tls.* 500.
- 4°. That the Native Opium imported into this place has been brought from two places, viz., Hankow in Hupeh, and Chingchiang-fu in Kiangsu. The Opium brought from the former place has been produced chiefly in Szechwan, and the amount brought in Foreign steamers, according to the returns of this office, was 43 piculs. The Opium brought from the latter place has probably been produced in Honan and Shansi, but I can get no accurate information concerning the provinces from which it originally comes, or the quantity of it brought to this place. It is imported in small quantities in Native crafts.
- 5°. That during last year 14 piculs and 63 catties Native Opium, which had been imported from Hankow, were re-exported to Tientsin, and 3 piculs and 12 catties prepared Native Opium were exported to the same place, in Foreign vessels.
- 6°. That the appearance of Native Opium in the market has not, to any preceptible extent, affected the demand for Foreign drug, either here, or, so far as I can ascertain, in the neighbourhood.

To the above answers to the questions contained in your Circular, I beg to add the following remarks:—

The provinces spoken of by the Chinese as being the principal Opium-producing ones are Szechwan, Kansuh, Shênsi, Shansi, Honan, Shantung, Kiangsi, Yünnan, and Kweichow.

The cultivation of the poppy is said to have been recently commenced in the districts of Hiangshan, Shuntoh, and Tungkwan, in Kwangtung, and in Taichow in Chêhkiang. In the provinces of Chihli, Hupeh, Hunan, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Fukien, and Kwangsi the cultivation is probably known, but it is not, so far as I can ascertain, carried on to any remarkable extent.

The total quantity of Opium consumed here during last year is

estimated at 20,000 piculs, of which amount Native Opium contributed, as I have already stated, about 500 piculs.

Native Opium is much inferior in flavour to the Foreign drug. It is smoked by people who are too poor to buy the latter; with which, again, it is mixed in order to suit the circumstances of people who are a little better off; but Foreign Opium is used by all the smokers who can afford to buy it. So long as the present great difference in quality between the Native and Foreign articles continues to exist, I do not think that the sale of the former will interfere much with that of the latter.

I am, &c.,

T. DICK,

ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

*Inspector General of Chinese Maritime
Customs.*

NINGPO.

No. 7.
1864.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, NINGPO,
23rd March 1864.

SIR,—I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular despatch No. 2 of the 17th February, calling for a Report of the extent to which the sale of Native Opium has interfered, during the last twelve months, with that of the Foreign drug in China.

In reply, I have to submit the following answers to your queries numbered 1 to 6 consecutively:—

1°, 2°, 3°, 4°. No Native Opium has been in use at this port during the year 1863.

5°. There has been no export of the drug from Ningpo.

6°. Regarding this inquiry, I would remark that the presence of Native Opium in the south of the Chêhkiang province has materially affected the quantity of the Foreign drug sold at Ningpo for marts in that part of the country; I am informed by one merchant (as his opinion) to the number of a monthly average of 15 to 20 chests.

It is prepared from the juice of the *red* poppy grown in the hilly country to the south of this port, in the prefecture of Taichow, also at Lihkiang and other islands of the Chusan group. Moreover, it is grown at Tientung to a very little extent, but with trepidation; and, indeed, at most places situated too close to the abode of the higher local officials, it is never seen by the observer.

The quantity of the article produced in Chênkiang—into which there is no importation from other provinces—cannot be ascertained even from Chinese sources, and the price is said to be about one-half that of the Foreign drug. But it is asserted the further distant from the depôts of the latter description of Opium, the greater is the increase in the value of the Native supplies. Hence, or principally on that account, no such supplies are brought here, either for sale or use. Neither in the districts where Native Opium is consumed is the Foreign commodity bought or used by the people.

The smokers of Native Opium describe it as having an insipid taste, and as losing much weight during the boiling process of its preparation for the pipe. The poppy grows to a height of six and seven feet, with a large head; and the juice is obtained by making three or four delicate incisions upwards on each head, allowing the piece of cut skin to overlap the wound, and, early every morning is collected by scraping it, in its exuded state, off the plant with a blunt piece of bamboo. I have not been able to ascertain the yield of a field of poppies per mow. In the producing districts it is the only spring crop, to the exclusion of pulse before grown, and is found to be the most profitable investment to the cultivator.

The growers are improving the quality of the drug by keeping the first yield separate from the last, yet, as with their vegetables, they look to quantity not to quality, and if they would manure the land less heavily, a more beneficial result would ensue from the change.

The principal class of Foreign drug sold here is "Malwa;" the importation of Patna is a rarity. The consumption of both classes at Ningpo and marts supplied by it amounted to more

than 3,000 chests or piculs during one year in the time of H. E. Chang, Taotai; whereas during the past year it has not been half that quantity. However, as soon as the prefectures of Hangchow, Chiahsing, and Hoochow are recaptured from the rebels, it is confidently anticipated that the traffic will receive a great impetus.

I have, &c.,

JAMES BROWN,

ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Assistant-in-Charge.

Inspector General, Shanghai.

FOOCHOW.

No. 54.
1864.

OFFICE DES DOUANES MARITIMES, FOOCHOW,
le 4 Octobre 1864.

MONSIEUR,—J'AI l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre dépêche No. 20, datée de Péking, 9 Août 1864, et par laquelle vous me demandez une réponse à vos Circulaires Nos. 2 et 3 du 17 Février et du 16 Mars de cette année.

En ce qui concerne la première de ces Circulaires, je me bornerai à vous dire, Monsieur, que la consommation de l'Opium dans cette province est exclusivement concentrée sur l'Opium étranger, que pour la première fois en 1861 une caisse d'Opium indigène a été importée de Hankow dans le Fokien, et que cet essai, n'ayant pas réussi, n'a jamais été renouvelé.

* * * * *

Agréez, Monsieur, &c.,

BARON DE MÉRITENS,

Monsieur ROBERT HART,

Commissaire des Douanes.

Inspecteur Général des Douanes Maritimes.

AMOY.

No. 7.
1864.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, AMOY,
16th March 1864.

SIR,—IN reply to questions 1 to 6 on the subject of Native Opium, contained in Circular No. 2 of 1864, I have the honour to state that—

- 1°. Native Opium has been in use at Amoy during the year 1863; and that
- 2°. About 500 piculs have been disposed of in that period, at a
- 3°. Price varying from 400 dols. to 480 dols. per picul, which, as compared with the price of Foreign Opium, is nearly one-half *less*.
- 4°. It is grown and prepared chiefly at Tungngan, in the province of Fukien, 20 miles distant from Amoy.
- 5°. In the year 1863 about 100 piculs are stated to have been exported to Formosa; 100 piculs to Ankoi, Changchew, and Chinchew; 100 piculs to Tientsin.
- 6°. The consumption of Native Opium in and around Amoy, say 200 piculs per annum, has in no perceptible degree diminished the demand for Foreign drug here; neither has it, so far as I can ascertain, at those marts supplied from Amoy.

Native Opium is not permitted to be grown in the immediate vicinity of Amoy; Tungngan is a turbulent district over which the authorities have but little control. The Opium is sold by the grower in a prepared state, but it is of an inferior quality, and is only used by the poorer classes, and is even then frequently mixed with the Foreign drug.

The *likin* tax, when levied, is about 2 mace per catty; but this charge and the export duty are usually evaded by smuggling. No Native Opium has been passed through this Custom House.

Although, as stated, its production has not yet perceptibly diminished the demand for Foreign drug, still, ultimately, it must affect the market, as its production has increased from about 50

piculs in 1861 to 500 piculs in 1863,—nearly one-sixth of the amount of Foreign Opium, 3,350 piculs, imported in that year.

I have, &c.,

GEO. HUGHES,

ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General, Maritime Customs,

Shanghai.

SWATOW.

No. 15.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, SWATOW,

1864.

4th April 1864.

SIR,—IN accordance with your Circular No. 2 of 1864, making inquiries as “to what extent the sale of Native Opium has interfered during the past year with that of Foreign drug in China,” I have the honour to answer the “queries.”

- 1°. Has Native Opium been in use at your port during the year?—It has not.
- 2°. What quantity has been disposed of during the year?—None.
- 3°. What has been the price, as compared with that of Foreign drug?—There being no sale, no comparison as to price can be made.
- 4°. From what province has it come?
- 5°. Has any, and if so, what quantity, been exported from your port during the year?—None.
- 6°. Has the appearance of Native Opium in the market diminished the demand for Foreign drug either at your port or at marts supplied from your port?—It has not.

And so far, from inquiries made, it would seem that the use of Native drug is hardly known in this section.

I have, &c.,

H. D. WILLIAMS,

ROBERT HART, Esquire,

Acting Commissioner of Customs.

Inspector General, Shanghai.

CANTON.

No. 22.
1864.

OFFICE OF MARITIME CUSTOMS, CANTON,
27th April 1864.

SIR,—In your Circular No. 2, dated Shanghai, 17th February last, you have informed me that you are anxious to learn to what extent the sale of Native Opium has interfered during the last twelve months with that of Foreign drug in China, and have instructed me to make such inquiries, both among Chinese and Foreign dealers, at this port as shall enable me to report to yourself on the subject.

In pursuance of these instructions I have for some time past been engaged in making inquiries on this subject, and in collecting information from various sources, the results of which I have now the honour to lay before you; but in doing so I would beg to remark that in consequence of there being no Foreign dealers in Opium at this port, I have been compelled to rely upon the Chinese dealers for information, and that this has been of so conflicting a character as to make it difficult to arrive at a very satisfactory conclusion.

The contradictory statements I have received, I believe, however, to have arisen in a great measure from the unwillingness of the Chinese dealers to furnish information on the subject; but the following particulars, obtained from the more reliable sources, and forming a digest of the information I have arrived at after careful investigation and inquiry, will, I think, be found tolerably correct.

In pursuance of your instructions I shall first reply severally to the queries to which you have particularly called my attention, and afterwards state such additional information as I have been able to obtain :—

- 1°. Native Opium has been in use at this port during 1863.
- 2°. About 15,000 piculs have been disposed of during the year.
- 3°. The average price of Native Opium during the past year has been from 380 dols. (three hundred and eighty) to

460 dols. (four hundred and sixty) Mexican dollars per picul, while that of Foreign drug during the same period has averaged, say, for Malwa Opium, about 670 dols. (six hundred and seventy), and for Patna Opium, 530 dols. (five hundred and thirty) Mexican dollars per picul.

- 4°. Native Opium has come principally from the provinces of Yünnan, also from those of Kweichow and Szechwan, in about the following proportions, viz. :—

From Yünnan . . .	about 800 piculs.
„ Kweichow . . .	„ 400 „
„ Szechwan . . .	„ 200 „

whilst in this province, Kwangtung, probably about one hundred (100) piculs have been produced.

- 5°. There has been no Native Opium exported from Canton during the past year, as far as can be ascertained.
- 6°. The appearance of Native Opium in the market has not, so far as can be ascertained, diminished the demand for Foreign drug either at this port or at marts supplied from this port.

By far the greater portion of Native Opium imported has come from Yünnan; hence the general name given to it is Yünnan pei or Yünnan too.

The principal markets in Kwangtung are :—

Foshan (Fatshan),
Shuhing (Chaochin),
Hsingngan (Hsinan),

and Canton; the most important being at Foshan, and known as the Yünkwei-hong.

It is sold by the dealers importing it, and the greater portion is then mixed with Malwa Opium (in the proportion of about one-fifth Native to four-fifths Malwa), and is sent principally to the inland markets of Woochow-fu and Kweilin, in the province of Kwangsi.

Native Opium is generally imported into this (the Kwangtung) province in cakes weighing 100 taels, and is subject on its arrival at the north-west barrier of Shaoukwan to an import duty of

9 mace, and to a chow-le or war tax of 350 copper *cash* for 100 taels weight. On being brought into Canton it further pays 5 candareens to the Kwangchow-fu office for the same weight.

Its use in this province and city is not general; probably five per cent. of Opium-smokers use it in mixture with Malwa Opium, but this, not from a preference to Foreign drug, but on account of its less astringent qualities. Of the Native Opium imported little is used in its pure state (probably one-fifth), and it is disliked by Opium-smokers on account of its "grassy" taste, which, however, is said to be less perceptible than in former years, as attention has been given to the subject.

The reason that so much mixed Native and Malwa Opium is sent to Kwangsi appears to be that it is there sold as Foreign drug, and thus affords a larger profit to the dealer. It is confidently stated that although the import of Native Opium has increased and is likely to do so, it is not likely to diminish the demand for Foreign drug, and this is accounted for by the alleged increase of Opium-smoking in the south of China.

As regards the cultivation of the poppy in this province (Kwangtung), it has been carried on to a small extent in the districts of Loting, Hoshan, Hsingngan, Shuhing, Sinning, and Kaouyaou, but, it is said, to little advantage, as the soil and climate are not considered favourable. It is, however, also stated that owing to the suppression of the Hakka disturbances, a large quantity will be grown during the present year. The price of Native Opium rises and falls with that of Foreign drug.

There are said to be restrictions peculiarly unfavourable to its export from Canton.

As the above particulars constitute all the information I have been able to obtain on the subject, I trust the present Report will prove tolerably satisfactory to you.

I have, &c.,

T. G. LUSON,

Assistant-in-Charge.

ROBERT HART, Esquire,

*Inspector General of Chinese
Maritime Customs.*

APPENDIX II.

PAPER BY MR. WILLIAM BREND, M.R.C.S.

I AM asked to compare, in their deleterious effects upon the system, Opium and Alcohol, whether the latter be taken in the shape of wine, beer, or spirit.

This comparison may be made under two aspects—the *moral* and the *physical*.

I will take the physical first, and under this head I am enabled to assert,

Firstly.—That there is no organic disease traceable to the use of Opium, either directly or indirectly, and whether used in moderate quantities or even in great excess. In other words, *there is no special disease associated with Opium*.

Functional disorder, more or less, may be, and no doubt is, induced by the improper or unnecessary use of Opium; but this is only what may be said of any other cause of deranged health, such as *gluttony, bad air, mental anxiety, &c.*; and this leads me to state,

Secondly.—That however great the functional disorder produced by Opium, even when carried to great excess, may be, the whole effect passes off, and the bodily system is restored in a little while to a state of complete health, if the habit be discontinued.

Now for Alcohol.

When taken in moderation it unquestionably benefits a certain number of individuals; but there are others whose systems will not tolerate the smallest quantities—it acts upon them like a poison. But in the case of *all* persons, when

Alcohol is taken in excess, disease is sooner or later produced. That disease consists of organic changes induced in the blood-vessels of the entire system, more especially the minute blood-vessels called the capillaries; these become dilated and consequently weakened in their coats, and eventually paralysed, so that they cannot contract upon the blood. The result of this is stagnation, leading to further changes still, such as fatty degeneration of all the organs; for it must be remembered that Alcohol circulates with the blood, and thus finds its way into the remotest tissues. The *special diseases* referable to Alcohol, besides this general fatty degeneration, are the disease of the liver, called "cirrhosis," and very frequently, "Bright's disease of the kidneys."

Here, then, we have the great and important difference between Opium and Alcohol.

The second great difference grows out of the first. It is this. I have said that if Alcohol be taken in excess for a certain length of time—depending to some extent upon the susceptibility of the individual—organic change, *that is disease*, is inevitable; but the saddest part of it is that it is *real* disease, not merely functional disorder; so that, if those who have yielded to that excess can be persuaded to abandon Alcohol entirely, the mischief induced must remain. The progress of further evil may be staved off, but the system can never again be restored to perfect health. The *demon* has taken a grip which can never be entirely unloosed. Herein, then, is the second great difference between the use of Opium and of Alcohol in excess.

And now for the moral aspect of the question, which I can only briefly advert to.

There can be no doubt that both habits, when carried to excess, are degrading. The Opium eater, like the inveterate drunkard, will sacrifice everything, the one for the drug and the other for the drink, and there is not, perhaps, much to choose between the victims of either. But the important question arises, what are the relative chances of reclaiming

the one as compared with those of reclaiming the other? My experience has reference to *Europeans* only, and I do not hesitate to say it is in favour of the Opium eater, and, if what I have already said be remembered, the reason will be apparent.

In the Opium eater we have an individual whose body and mind are enfeebled, and whose existence is one of misery except when under the influence of the drug. It may be granted that he would sink if left to himself. But what I assert is, that help from others can be much more effectually brought to bear upon such an individual than in the case of the habitual drunkard. By judicious management an improvement in the former may be brought about, leading to still further improvement, and eventually to perfect recovery, both of body and mind, and—*mark this important point—a disposition to relapse into the old habit is very seldom observed*; on the contrary, a feeling of horror regarding it is more likely to arise in the mind.

But, now, how is it with the habitual drunkard? How often is he or she reclaimed? Is not a temporary abandonment of the habit almost invariably followed by a relapse—and why?

Because his tissues have so suffered as to render entire abstinence almost impossible, whilst to recommend to him moderate indulgence is like toppling him over the edge of a precipice and requesting him to stop half-way down.

In making the above comparison I have considered *Opium eating* only. Now comes the question of Opium smoking. If what I have said of Opium eating be true, common sense will draw the inference that Opium smoking must be comparatively innocuous, for used in this way a very small quantity indeed of the active constituents find their entrance into the system. Its influence, like tobacco, is exerted entirely upon the nervous system, and when that influence has passed off, it leaves (as also in the case of tobacco) a greater or less

* I may say I have never known an habitual female drunkard cured.

craving for its repetition ; but, as organic disease is not the result, I see no reason why Opium smoking, in moderation, necessarily degrades the individual more than does the smoking of tobacco.

I do not forget that Opium smoking may possibly lead to Opium eating ; but even this, as I have already shown, whether from the point of view affecting an individual or a nation, is an evil of far lesser magnitude than drunkenness.

APPENDIX III.

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

*Two Letters addressed to the Editor of the "Times,"
Dec. 26, 1881, and Jan. 20, 1882, respectively, by
SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, C.S.I., M.D., late Pro-
fessor of Materia Medica and Botany, and of
Anatomy and Physiology, Grant Medical College,
and Curator of the Government Central Economic
Museum, Bombay.*

I.

IN view of the indiscriminating agitation which is being manufactured all over the country against the Indian Opium revenue (amounting to from £7,000,000 to £9,000,000 sterling a year) on the ground of its imputed immorality, I wish to place on record the opinions which I have been led, by years of intimate study and observation in Bombay, to form of the effects of the habitual use of Opium on the people of the East. I do not propose to enter into the economical question of the Indian Opium revenue, or into the political question of our alleged forcing the importation of the drug on the Chinese. I shall confine myself as much as possible to my personal experience of the general effects of smoking, eating, and drinking Opium on the Chinese, Mussulmans, and Hindoos of Western India.

As regards Opium smoking, I can from experience testify that it is, of itself, absolutely harmless. I should like those who have been led to believe, on the unscientific observations of others, that it is harmful, to simply try it experimentally

for themselves, under proper precautions, of course, against the risk of using imperfectly prepared *chandoo*, or "smokeable extract" of Opium. I feel satisfied that the more thoroughly they test it, the more strongly will they be convinced with me that the smoking of Opium is, of itself, a perfectly innocuous indulgence. I have known cases of desperate suffering, resulting apparently from excess in Opium smoking, such as unscientific observers hold up *in terrorem* before the British public. But these cases were always of moral imbeciles, who were addicted to other forms of depravity, and the Opium pipe was merely the last straw laid on their inherently enervated and overstrained backs.*

Opium has been smoked for generations in China, even within the precincts of the Imperial Palace at Pekin.† As far back as 1796 edicts were issued against the practice, but in vain, so deeply were the people already devoted to it at that

* At the Anti-opium Meeting held in Manchester on the 31st of January last, Sir Wilfrid Lawson asked why, if I "thought so highly" of Opium-smoking, I did not "establish an Opium den in London, and invite the Archbishop of Canterbury to open it?" He thus, like so many others, confounds two perfectly different things, Opium-smoking and Opium dens, or, as they are called in Bombay, *chandool* shops. Sir Wilfrid Lawson must be perfectly aware of the character of some of the coffee shops in our larger English cities; but for all that he would not condemn the use of coffee: and as to most *chandool* shops, the Opium pipe is but a sign serving for the old Roman label, "*Hic habitat felicitas.*" It has always been a wonder to me why since the Chinese Government is so deeply concerned for the moral well-being of its people it has never closed these Opium dens.

† Opium was first carried to China by the Arabs in the ninth century; and the Chinese themselves continued to import it in their junks, as a return cargo from India, until the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century the trade was chiefly monopolised by the Portuguese, and in 1767 their importation of the drug reached one thousand chests. The East India Company's first venture was in 1773. The Chinese began to complain of the Company's ships in 1796, but it was not till 1820 that they forbade any ships having Opium on board entering the Canton river. Opium-smoking began to prevail in Eastern China—possibly introduced from Western China—about 1650; and before the East India Company's ships

date. The determined, obstinate instinct of the Chinese people in its favour paralyzed even the despotic endeavours of the Chinese Government to suppress it; and long before we became entangled in the quarrel between the Chinese and their Government on the subject, the Financial Board at Peking had advised the recognition of the national habit by the imposition of a tax on Opium, on the ground that the increased rigour of the laws enforced against its use since the beginning of the century had only tended to increase the bribes offered to officials for their connivance in it. The Chinese Government rejected this judicious proposal with a great flourish of moral indignation, and the crusade against Opium smoking was continued, with renewed severity. All the same, the popular custom proved irresistible, and its victory in the end was of incalculable benefit to the Chinese, as it served gradually, wherever Opium smoking prevailed, to completely entice them away from the use of their native ardent spirits. This historical fact should never be overlooked by those who have been led by their blind philanthropy to believe that Opium smoking is necessarily injurious to the Chinese, and that, therefore, the Indian Opium revenue is immoral. No one will deny that, at all events in tropical countries, the effects of excess in ardent spirits are worse than those of Opium, and it would be unfortunate indeed if, as a consequence of the abolition of the Government manufacture of Opium in India, the Chinese were led back to the use of the ardent spirits of their own baneful distillation. It would be the undoing of probably the greatest temperance triumph of any age or country; for I repeat that, of itself, Opium smoking is almost as harmless an indulgence as twiddling the thumbs, and other silly-looking methods for concentrating the jaded mind in momentary *nirvana*. The mind often seeks a lull—quiescence without vacuity—and finds

carried their first cargo of Opium to Canton, the practice had spread all over the empire. These simple facts, the knowledge of which is open to everyone, should be compared with the stories to be found in anti-opium publications of our English merchants having infected the Chinese with the plague of Opium-smoking.

it in any of these strangely infectious ways, Opium smoking among the rest.

But, it may be asked, what of the opinion of the Chinese Government as to the morality of Opium smoking? It is, I believe, partly due, as with other worthy people, to their not distinguishing between the accidental concomitants of a debauched life and the antecedent inducements to it; but chiefly to the fact of official Chinese ideas of morality being founded on an artificial religious system, and not on the national habits of the masses of Chinamen. The scholastic official ideas of morality in China are utterly at variance, as is obvious in regard to Opium smoking at least, with the universal practice of the people.

Be that as it may, all I insist on is the downright innocence, in itself, of Opium smoking; and that, therefore, so far as we are concerned in its morality, whether judged by a standard based on a deduction from preconceived religious ideas or an induction from national practices, we are as free to introduce Opium into China and to raise a revenue from it in India, as to export our cotton, iron, and woollen manufactures to France.

The habitual eating and drinking of Opium are altogether different things from smoking it as a gentle incentive to restorative repose of mind. Opium taken internally is a powerful and dangerous narcotic stimulant; but even so, it is no worse in the effects produced by excessive use than Alcohol. It is, and has been immemorially used throughout vast regions of the East. It satisfies a natural human craving for some paregoric stuff or other, "banishing sorrow, wrath allaying, and causing oblivion of all cares;" while its consumption has been further fostered by the religious ban imposed in Asiatic countries on the use of alcohol.* Alcohol acts with

* The wide diffusion throughout the East of the use of Opium, as distinguished from that of a decoction of poppy heads, and of the juice of the entire plant, is particularly connected with the spread of Mahommedanism, and its temperance ordinances against ardent spirits.

doubly destructive force in tropical climates, and with awful rapidity, and its victims are a constant danger to others; whereas the sufferers from the abuse of Opium are seldom dangerous to others, and are a nuisance only from lingering so long in a state of harmless dulness on the hands of their relations. Nothing, moreover, is so offensive to respectable Asiatics as the violent excitement caused by wine and ardent spirits; and Opium enables these dignified persons, who dare not break the ecclesiastical law against alcoholic drinks, nor outrage the social feeling against noisy intoxication, to safely satiate their natural craving for something at once stimulating and soothing. The ill effects of the habitual use of Opium in excess are developed almost exclusively among those who, by some weakness or injury of brain, or by chronic disease, or by the unhappy circumstances of their lives, are predisposed to over-indulgence. The habit of destructive excess among them is, in fact, usually to be traced to chronic diarrhœa, chronic cough, chronic fever, and to the long religious fasts, alike of the Buddhists, Hindoos, and Mussulmans, in which Opium is used to allay the pangs of protracted hunger. Besides these unfortunates, the weak-brained, dissipated rich, and the hopelessly poverty-stricken are the only sufferers. Sound, hale people, in comfortable worldly circumstance, who lead healthy lives, seldom or never suffer from the habitual use of Opium, even in quantities that seem to be excessive. There are few finer people in the world than those of Goojerat, Kattywar, Cutch, and Central India, and they are all addicted to the habitual use of Opium. In Rajpootana, high and low, rich and poor, indulge in it, in the most alarming excess, measured by the quantity they take, but, as regards the mass of the population, with impunity. These Rajpoots are splendid men, well-formed, handsome, and of the most chivalrous and romantic temperament. Their custom is to drink the Opium in the form of an emulsion called *kusoomba*. It is prepared and served round in a bowl, like an enormous pap-bowl, from which it is poured into the joined palms of every visitor to drink of it, and the Rajpoots are always taking these paregoric draughts from

morning to night. But they are robust and active, constantly in the open air, and, as a rule, suffer no more from their immoderate potations of *kusoomba* than healthy country-folk in England from sound ale, or Tartars from *koumis*, certainly not so much as "Glasgow bodies" from whisky, or Londoners from gin. The women in Rajpootana prepare the *kusoomba*, and it will be remembered that in the Odyssey it is Helen who prepares the famous "nepenthic drug":—

"Meanwhile, with genial joy to warm the soul,
Bright Helen mixed a mirth-inspiring bowl."

In 1809 Rajpootana was thrown into disorder by the contest of the princes for the hand of Krishna Kumari, the beautiful daughter of the Rana of Oodeypore. To stay the fratricidal strife the heroic maiden mixed a bowl of *kusoomba*, and exclaiming, "These are the nuptials fore-doomed for me," drank it off at a draught, and sank down, where she stood, and died, so restoring peace to the distracted land. I have a strong suspicion that the free use of Opium in Rajpootana acts as a preventive of malarious fevers.

It is evident, in short, that *there are two sides to the question of the morality of the use of even Opium itself*, and all the facts regarding its real effects should be fully placed in evidence before the public, when the relations of the Government of India with its manufacture and exportation are being made the butt of ignorant and prejudiced opposition. Even the eating and drinking of Opium appeared to me so little harmful, and the instances of any consequent evil so rare, that all the time I was in India I was an advocate of the use of all stimulants in moderation; and it was only when I returned to England, and saw on all sides of me, and every day, the evil effects of the abuse of alcohol, that I was gradually led to sympathize with those who urge voluntary abstinence from every form of stimulant.

There is the fact, however, of the universal craving of man for some kind of stimulants, and of their being everywhere, from Kamtschatka to South Africa, and Canada to

Polynesia, provided for his use. We are always being called upon to appreciate the divine bounty in the wide distribution of cereal and pulse grains, to strengthen man's heart; and are we to take no heed of narcotic stimulants which are to be found in almost every natural order of plants, and in every climate of the globe, to make glad the heart of man? Then, also, may not some significance be attached to the narrative of the marriage in Cana, at which water was turned into wine,—not wine into water? I know it has been urged by some commentators that this particular miracle is without a moral end. I suppose they thought its end immoral. But it was worked in the presence of the disciples of John the Baptist, and everyone who has lived in the East will recognise that the moral of the miracle is the rebuke it administers to that sanctimonious affectation of an impracticable asceticism, which is, perhaps the most offensive trait of the Asiatic character. The miracle was palpably meant to impress the followers of the Baptist—one of the three only Nazirites for life, the other two being Samson and Samuel, mentioned in Scriptures—that not objectless mortification of self, any more than licentiousness, but rational enjoyment, was the right rule of life. Man could not possibly avoid the discovery of wine, and the thought of the famous sentence of St. Augustine, “*Ipse fecit vinum in nuptiis, qui omni anno facit in vitibus,*” is as just and true as it is poetical.

If, however, it is impossible to object altogether to stimulants, we can no more object altogether to Opium. Its use is merely a question of geography and race, and not of morality in the least. *A fortiori* there is nothing to be said on moral grounds against Opium smoking. If anyone will test its effects, he will find that half its soothing and pleasure is derived chiefly from the opportunity it affords for abandoning oneself for a few moments to idleness with the pretence of occupation,—in preparing the dainty apparatus used by well-to-do connoisseurs in the operation,—the elegant lamp, the exquisitely damascened, or brilliantly enamelled, pipe, and quaintly chased silver pins,—and cleaning and putting them all

back again into the drawer of the low japanned table, which is the respectable Opium smoker's fire altar and altar of incense in one, from which the smoke goeth up continually. Those who are fond of rolling up their own cigarettes—probably *not* composed of tobacco—will understand this. Then, for the rest, there is the supreme satisfaction felt by man of every colour, creed, and race, in passing any mild smoke, especially if it be in any sort fragrant, in and out of the mucous passages of his head, a pleasure quite independent of the positive physiological action that the smoke-stuff itself may possess; while for any narcotic property there may be in the smoke of thoroughly combusted *chandoo*—in the ashes, that is, of smokeable extract of Opium—the subtlest chemical analysis would probably fail to find it out. Blowing soap bubbles itself can, indeed, scarcely be a more ethereal enjoyment than sucking *chandoo* smoke into the throat, and blowing it out again through the nose, and sometimes, by finished performers, through the inner corner of the eyes.

I am not approving the use of stimulants—I have long ceased to do so. I am only protesting that there is no more harm in smoking Opium than in smoking tobacco, in the form of the mildest cigarettes, and that its narcotic effect can be but infinitesimal, if, indeed, anything measurable, and I feel bound to publicly express these convictions, which can easily be put to the test of experiment, at a moment when all the stupendous machinery available in this country of crotchetmongers, and ignorant, if well-meaning, agitators, is being set in motion against the Indian Opium revenue, on the express ground of its falsely imputed immorality.

II.

The vital question for Englishmen really is—are Opium and Alcohol in the same category as dietetical corroborants or not? If Opium is naturally adapted for the daily use of the people who actually consume it, Englishmen will trouble themselves

as little about supplying them with Indian Opium as about forcing the purchase of Manchester goods wherever we have an opportunity. To me the whole weight of trustworthy evidence, and particularly of professional evidence, which probably is alone trustworthy evidence in such a matter, seems to be in favour of the use of such a contro-stimulant as Opium, by the inhabitants of tropical countries, more particularly by those who live in malarious regions and feed chiefly on a vegetable diet.

Opium Eating.

I trace the outcry against Opium entirely to the commercial jealousy of the Dutch in the last century of the trade which then began to spring up in this article between India and China. Sir Stamford Raffles's ("Java," vol. i., pp. 111-112) emphatic condemnation of Opium is obviously but a reflection of the Dutch prejudice against it. Tod's ("Rajasth'an," vol. i., pp. 553-554, and vol. ii., pp. 578-584) opinion of the pernicious effects of Opium on the Rajpoots is based simply on their inordinate indulgence in it. The really pertinent fact regarding the Rajpoots is that, although they are all, from their youth upward, literally saturated with Opium, they are one of the finest, most truthful, and bravest people in the world. The same may be said of the Sikhs. The first words always addressed to a visitor among the Rajpoots are, "Take your opiate." A pledge ratified by "eating opium together" is maintained inviolable by them under all circumstances; and the invariable inscription on the seals with which they stamp all written contracts and other legal documents is "Take a draught of Opium." I am informed of a well-known Rajpoot, a hale old man of seventy, which is equal to eighty years of age among us, who still makes nothing of riding out forty miles in the early dawn of day, and riding back the same distance in the afternoon, yet all his life has been in the habit of taking daily about a fifth of a pound of Opium. Tod and Raffles are the only eminent authorities, of whom I am aware, who condemn the eating and drinking of Opium. Sir John Malcolm

evidently did not condemn its use. In his "Memoir on Central India," he devotes several pages (45, 76, 359-360) to the cultivation and quantity of Opium produced in Malwa, and the estimate of the expenses and return of each *begah*; but he nowhere gives the slightest indication of disapproval of its growth and consumption. Dr. James Burnes ("Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Scinde, and a Sketch of the History of Cutch," pp. 230-233) gives the most convincing testimony of the comparative impunity with which Opium is used in the latter country. John Crawford, in his "Dictionary of the Malay Archipelago," expresses a strong preference for the use of Opium rather than of Alcohol as an habitual stimulant. The most valuable evidence in its favour, however, will be found in Dr. W. C. B. Eatwell's "Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government on the System of Cultivating the Poppy and of preparing Opium in the Benares Opium Agency" (republished in the *Pharmaceutical Journal* for 1851-52), and Dr. Elijah Impey's official "Report on the Cultivation, Preparation, and Adulteration of Malwa Opium," Bombay, 1848. No one should attempt to discuss the question of the Government monopoly of Opium in India who has not read and thoroughly mastered these two exhaustive reports.*

* At the Manchester Anti-opium Meeting of the 31st January last, the Bishop of Manchester very rightly took me to task for not quoting Sir Charles Aitcheson's recent report on the evil effects of the use of Opium on the Burmese. The truth is that, at the date of my letter of the 20th of January to the *Times*, I had not seen this deeply interesting report. But the ninth paragraph of the report, which indicates some of the causes of the evils following the novel introduction of Opium-smoking among the Burmese, taken with the fourth paragraph, fully justifies all I have written on this part of the subject of the habitual use of Opium. In the same way, "Young Bengal," in the flush of emancipation from the restraint of his ancestral religion, takes to eating beef and drinking wine, at first in mere braggadocio and playful defiance of paternal prejudices, which, however, only too often lead him on at last into indulgence in every kind of European vice, and to misery and ruin. Anyhow, admitting that Opium-smoking is in itself, and because of the Opium in the pipe, injurious to the Burmese, just as alcohol proved to the Red Indians, is it not more expedient to leave the monopoly of the Opium trade in

Sir Robert Christison, in his great work on "Poisons," gives the abstracts of eleven cases, the general result of whose histories tends, in Pereira's formidable judgment, to throw a doubt on the popular opinion in England of the injurious effects of Opium and its tendency to shorten human life. Pereira significantly adds, "It must be confessed that in several known cases of the habitual use of Opium eating that have occurred in this country no ill-effects have been observable."

I have recently collected some remarkable evidence of the prevalence of Opium eating in this country among the poor population about Tothill-street and in the East-end of London, which some day I may publish, and, so far as I have gone, it affords the strongest proof possible of the impunity with which Opium may be indulged in, even by a flesh-eating people, and that it is conservative rather than destructive of their morality. One case is of an old woman of ninety, recently deceased, who to her last day earned her own living by manufacturing small wares in iron and tin. She began Opium eating at seventeen, and during the last nine years of her praiseworthy existence, had been in the habit of eating daily 135 grains of Opium. It should be noted that this was Turkey Opium, and that the taking of Turkey Opium, as by the Opium eaters of Eastern Europe, or laudanum as in this country, or morphia as in America, is a different thing from eating or drinking Indian Opium, which, in consequence of its comparative weakness in morphia, is not used in Europe as medicine.

When you speak to the natives of India about the dangers of Opium eating, they answer, "But if you take away our Opium, what shall we do against fever?" The late Consul

India in the hands of a beneficent Government, which stops its sale, as in Burmah, wherever it is found to be doing harm, than to leave it, as the "alcohol" trade is left in this country, to almost unrestricted private enterprise? And is it not strangely inconsistent in the advocates of the Gothenburg system in this country for they are for the most part the same worthy people as support the anti-opium agitation, to advocate the abolition in India of what is a sort of ready-organised Gothenburg system, the Government monopoly of Opium?

Margary states that in his last journey to Bhamoo he used to take an Opium pill daily to keep off fever. So early as Pliny (xix. 53) the febrifuge property of Opium is recorded. But more than this; it is probably absolutely beneficial to the nutrition of a vegetarian population like that of India. Carnivorous animals have proportionately shorter intestines than graminivorous, while man, being by nature both carnivorous and graminivorous, has intestines of intermediate length between the extremes adapted to an exclusively animal and an exclusively vegetable diet. Under, however, the religious influence of Buddhism, the Hindoos have for at least 1,000 years adopted an exclusively vegetable diet unsuited to the human constitution, and consequently, after weaning, they all suffer more or less from inordinate indigestion, and to the end of their lives, excepting those of them who moderately indulge in the habitual use of Opium. The explanation is that Opium delays the process of digestion, and has, in fact, the effect of, as it were, artificially prolonging the human intestine, and thus promoting the more complete digestion and assimilation of vegetable food.

In India the Buddhists not only put down the eating of flesh, but the drinking of *soma* also, and, as I judge from what Tylor says on the subject ("Anthropology," p. 268-270), introduced in the place of the latter, and other alcoholic intoxicants, the use of tea, which is a native of Assam, and carried the plant with their religion from India into China. This is an extremely interesting suggestion, well worth special investigation. In a similar way, the use of coffee as well as of Opium was propagated everywhere with the religion of Mahomet, who, however, does not positively forbid the use of alcoholic stimulants, as is generally supposed (see Koran, chapters "The Cow," "The Table," and "The Bee"). These were first absolutely forbidden, I presume, by his Sunnite followers. The use of Opium is immemorial in the East, and possibly suggested to the Buddhists their idea of *nirvana*:

"There is no joy like calm.

Why should we always toil?"

Its use probably originated in North-Eastern India, where, judging from the elaborate and highly local character of the decoration of the Opium pipes in use, I conclude that Opium smoking has immemorially been practised, among the tribes inhabiting the highlands between Assam and the Chinese frontier.*

My readers must judge for themselves, from the authorities I have indicated ; but the opinion I have come to from them, and my own experience, is that, Opium is used in Asia in a similar way to Alcohol in Europe, and that, considering the natural craving and popular inclination for, and the ecclesiastical toleration of it, and its general beneficial effects, and the absence of any resulting evil, there is just as much justification for the habitual use of Opium in moderation as for the moderate use of Alcohol, and, indeed, far more.

Sir Benjamin Brodie is always quoted as the most distinguished professional opponent of the dictetical use of Opium ; but what are his words (" Psychological Enquiries," p. 248) :—" The effect of Opium when taken into the stomach is not to stimulate, but to soothe the nervous system. It may be otherwise in some instances, but these are rare exceptions to the general rule. The Opium eater is in a passive state, satisfied with his own dreamy condition while under the influence of the drug. He is useless, but not mischievous. It is quite otherwise with alcoholic liquors."

* Since the date of this letter, I have seen at Mr. Wareham's, Castle Street, Leicester Square, a most interesting collection, made by Mr. Bragge, of Sheffield, of the pipes of all nations. I was first struck by the great costliness of some of the Chinese Opium pipes, which must have originally cost so much as £20, and £30, and £50 each ; and next by the intimate manner in which their ornamentation grows out of their form, a sure indication of the great, the immemorial age of all like articles. I was struck, also, by the close resemblance between the Chinese Opium pipe and the calumet of the Red Indians, the parent of the various forms of European tobacco pipes ; so that it would seem as if the Chinese Opium pipe was indeed the forefather of all pipes.

Opium Smoking.

Opium smoking, which is the Chinese form of using the drug—for which the Indian Government is specially held responsible—is, to say the least in its favour, an infinitely milder indulgence. For my own part, as already mentioned, I hold it to be absolutely harmless. I do not place it simply in the same category with even tobacco smoking, for tobacco smoking may, in itself, if carried into excess, be injurious, particularly to young people under twenty-five; but I mean that Opium smoking, in itself, is as harmless as smoking willow bark, or inhaling the smoke of a peat fire, or vapour of boiling water. Opinions, of course, differ. Medhurst ("China") is the weightiest lay authority against it, and Marsden ("Sumatra," pp. 278-279) in its defence. Professor O'Shaughnessy ("Bengal Dispensary," pp. 180-181) admits that what is recorded against it applies only to the abuse of the practice. Dr. Oxley, quoted in Crawford's "Dictionary" (p. 313), Dr. Smith (*Lancet*, Feb. 19, 1842, quoted at sufficient length by Pereira), Dr. Eatwell (*Pharmaceutical Journal*, 1851-52, pp. 264-265), and Dr. Impey (in his Report on Malwa Opium) all protest against the indiscriminate condemnation directed by prejudiced or malicious writers against it. I have not seen Surgeon-General Moore's recent paper on Opium in the *Indian Medical Gazette*, but I gather from a notice of it, quoted from the *Calcutta Englishman* in the *Homeward Mail* of the 14th of November last, that it supplies a most exhaustive and able vindication of the perfect morality of the revenue derived by the Indian Government from the manufacture and sale of Opium to the Chinese. He quotes from Dr. Ayres, "No China resident believes in the terrible frequency of the dull, sodden-witted, debilitated Opium smoker met with in print;" and from Consul Lay, "In China the spendthrift, the men of lewd habits, the drunkard, and a large assortment of bad characters, slide into the Opium smoker; hence the drug seems to be chargeable with all the vices of the country." Mr. Gregory, Her Majesty's Consul at Swatow, says Dr. Moore, never saw

a single case of Opium intoxication, though living for months and travelling for hundreds of miles among Opium smokers. Dr. Moore directly confirms my own statement of the Chinese having been great drinkers of Alcohol before they took to smoking Opium. . I find, also, in a remarkable collection of folk-lore ("Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," by Herbert A. Giles), evidence in almost every chapter of the universal drinking habits of the Chinese before the introduction of Opium among them, notwithstanding that the use of Alcohol is opposed to the cardinal precepts of Buddhism.

What Dr. Moore says of the freedom of Opium smokers from bronchial and thoracic diseases is deserving of the deepest consideration. I find that, on the other hand, the Chinese converts to Christianity suffer greatly from consumption. The missionaries will not allow them to smoke, and, as they also forbid their marrying while young, after the wise custom, founded on an experience of thousands of years, of their forefathers, they fall into those depraved, filthy habits of which consumption is everywhere the inexorable witness and scourge. When spitting of blood comes on, the Opium pipe is its sole alleviation.

The Opium, as retailed to the smokers, is already diminished by various admixtures in narcotic power, and is, apparently, still more so by its preparation in the form of pure "smokeable extract."* Then the pill so prepared is placed in a flame, where it is instantly set ablaze. It blazes furiously, and its vapour is at the same instant inhaled into the throat and lungs in one inspiration.

But, according to Christison, none of the active principles

* Professor Gamgee, in lecturing at Manchester, March 9, in reply to these letters, is reported to have said that *chandoo* contained all the active principles of opium in concentration. I wrote to him at once, on seeing this statement, for his authority for it; but up to the time of Mr. Brereton's book going to press, April 13, I have received no reply to my inquiry. I have never yet come across an intelligible, working receipt for the preparation of *chandoo*, and know of no analysis either of it or its smoke.

of Opium are volatilisable!* And if any one of my readers will get Indian Opium, as retailed in the bazaars, and prepare pure *chandoo* from it, and smoke as many pills of it as he pleases, in the above manner, he will find that they will not produce the slightest effect on him, or any one else, one way or the other, beyond causing that pleasant and peaceful warmth throughout the body which comes of sitting over a peat fire on a chilly day, or inhaling the fragrant vapour from a bowl of whisky toddy as you stir the boiling water into it, or, for that matter, from the simple steam issuing from a jug of boiling water. I conclude myself that nothing passes from the deflagrating *chandoo* pill into the lungs but the volatile resinous constituents of Opium. At least, if this be the fact, it explains the antiseptic and prophylactic action of Opium smoking in the pulmonary affections of

* This is what Sir Robert Christison says:—"Opium would appear also to exert its action when introduced in the form of smoke into the lungs. This is the mode, at least, in which it is often used in China, and apparently with the same effects as when swallowed. Yet Opium is known to be decomposed by such heat as is necessary in the process of smoking; neither are any of its active principles volatilisable. And I may add that several of my pupils have tried the process with a Chinese pipe, and Chinese extract, but experienced no other effects than severe headache and sickness."

On this Professor Attfield, in the *Times* of the 3rd February, wrote:—"Two facts must be borne in mind. First, active vegetable principles such as those of Opium, on being heated, yield vapour having, in most cases, *the chief properties of the original principle*. . . . Secondly, a substance only maintained in vapour at a high temperature when alone, *may be carried a considerable distance in a current of quite cool smoke*." There can be no doubt that Professor Attfield has here indicated, particularly in the words, which I have ventured to italicise, the correct scientific explanation of any narcotic effect Opium-smoking may have. But I repeat, that, judging from my own experience, and the experience of everyone known to me personally who has observed Opium-smoking, I have come to the conclusion that it has no real narcotic effect, and I have always accepted in explanation of this assumed fact, Christison's statement, that none of the active principles of Opium are volatilisable, i.e. smokeable.

the Chinese. I conclude (my chemistry is of 1850-54, and quite out of date) that the rarefied resinous vapours inhaled protects the surface of the bronchial passages and lungs from the outer air, and that, when consumption has once set in, this empyreumatic vapour has the effect of checking the supuration. This might be tested at the Brompton Hospital. Only one inspiration is taken from each pill, and the residuum is then mixed up with such drugs as Indian hemp, tobacco, and nuxvomica, and resold at a greatly reduced rate to the poorer smokers. It is really this *tye-chandoo*, or "refuse *chandoo*," that has given Opium smoking so bad a name among superficial and untrained observers. But even in respect of it, considering the exhaustive incineration the pill undergoes in being smoked, I doubt whether anything but harmless smoke passes into the lungs. It is the general debauched habits of the lower outcast populations of the cities of China which are really responsible for their cachectic appearance, and not the accidental circumstance that some of them indulge in Opium smoking.

As to the alleged special aphrodisiac properties of Opium, I discredit them altogether. At all events, it must never be forgotten, as a factor which tends to confuse even expert observation that is not severely verified, of any such alleged effect, that throughout the East the great majority of the people are always deliberately plying themselves with aphrodisiacs or reputed aphrodisiacs. The whole system of Eastern medicine seems based on the idea of the aphrodisiac or anti-aphrodisiac properties of things. European medical men are pestered all their days in the East, from Morocco to Shanghai, by simple natives persistently supplicating them for some potent aphrodisiac of which it is believed they hold the golden secret. I know a medical officer who, when serving in the Indian Navy, was followed from port to port, all up and down the Persian Gulf, by a picturesque old Arab Chief in quest of aphrodisiac pills, and nothing would content him but to have them, although they consisted only of pellets of bread crumbs rolled in magnesia. Every medical man who

has practised in the East is familiar also with the phenomenon of the sudden wasting away, in body, mind, and soul, of the healthiest and most beautiful and intellectual boys on their reaching the critical period of adolescence. At the other critical period, between forty-five and fifty, the best and strongest of good men also suddenly turn bad, and "go to the dogs" utterly. Opium has nothing to do with these sad catastrophes of daily observation; while I am convinced that some form of smoking might often prevent them. Those, indeed, who can believe that opium is injurious to the morality of the Chinese can have little idea of what morality means in Eastern Asia—much less immorality.

I need add no more. I do not seek to support any particular financial or commercial policy in India. I desire simply to instruct the consciences of my countrymen. I have been charged with having a private purpose to serve by the argument I have taken in this controversy.* The views I hold on Opium I first stated as a student in a discussion before the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. In a work I published before 1868 on the "Vegetable Products of Western India," which went through two editions, I maintained the same views, founded on facts gathered from every region of the globe. I might, therefore, be credited with now writing on the subject from strict conviction.

I hold Opium smoking, in short, to be a strictly harmless indulgence, like any other smoking, and the essence of its pleasure to be, not in the Opium itself so much as in the smoking it. If something else were put into the pipe instead of Opium, that something else would gradually become just as popular as Opium, although it might not incidentally prove so beneficial. It was in this way that the Red Indians took to smoking willow bark in place of tobacco, which was too costly

* His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York has been so good, since this letter was first published, as to explain that nothing personal was meant by His Grace's strictures on me made at the anti-opium meeting held at Sheffield on the 6th December last.

for them. It is in this way that one is often able to substitute harmless prescriptions for harmful philters among the nympholeptic sons of Ham and Turan. In India, in the Indian Archipelago, in China, and wherever else Opium is eaten, or drunk, or smoked with impunity, we ought to endeavour to supply it as pure and cheap as possible. It may be abused by the vicious, as well as used by the virtuous, but I am defending the virtuous use and not the vicious abuse of opium.

“Satan with apples Eve beguil’d,
But sin, not apples, her defil’d.”

It makes milder smoking than tobacco, and is evidently beneficial in many ways; and we may rest assured that mankind, where it has once taken to it, will never give up smoking—either Opium, or tobacco, or some other such stuff, however silly it may look in the eyes of the “unco’ guid.” It is not really sillier than eating and drinking, or any other natural action, to look at; while it is undoubtedly one of the least alloyed of the pleasures of the senses, if, indeed, it may not be said to be almost a supersensuous pleasure; for it seems, in some way past searching out, to possess the true magic which spiritualizes sense.

APPENDIX IV.

*Part V. of Vol. II. of "Annals of Chemical Medicine, including the Application of Chemistry to Physiology, Pathology, Therapeutics, Pharmacy, Toxicology, and Hygiene," by J. L. W. THUDICHUM, M.D.—"Anæsthesia by Volatile Alkaloids, as illustrated by Opium-Smoking."**

THE medical uses of opium have been so well known through all historical times that it is a matter for surprise to find that they are not better appreciated in the present day. In this, as in many other matters, we are in fact only gradually emerging from the condition of those dark times during which, amongst many good things, the knowledge of opium, for example, was lost. Although its rediscovery and reintroduction into Central Europe was effected by Paracelsus, its medical use was almost lost again by two causes—one the adulterations to which it was subjected by producers or vendors, the other the polypharmacy† of a transitory period of medical art.

* Extracted from the above valuable work by the kind permission of the author.

† What this polypharmacy meant any curious reader can see from the prescription for "thériaque" contained in the French Pharmacopœia, which enumerated fifty-seven ingredients (amongst them sixty grms. of dried vipers), to serve in the compounding of a mass of two and a quarter kilogrms. of thériaque powder, in which the only actual healing power of medicine is represented by 120 grms. of Smyrna opium. This powder is again mixed with nearly four times its weight of honey, etc., and then constitutes thériaque. In this mixture opium is actually diluted with eighty

The adulteration of opium, which greatly helped to obscure its power and limit its use, was, for medical purposes at least, made innocuous by the progress of pharmaceutical chemistry. For this branch of the apothecary's art supplied the means of correctly estimating the medical power of any given specimens of opium by means of the quantation of those of its active ingredients which were the most potent and were present in the largest quantities. In this way opium became the crude material of a new branch of manufacture; opium was not only purified and concentrated—its principal power was shown to be mathematically definite, in the shape of morphia and its salts. This alkaloid took the place of opium in medical practice to a very large extent, and by its aid the administration of narcotics and sedatives began to assume the appearance of a definite science. In the course of my practice I had frequent opportunities for observing the great power of the pure alkaloid, but at the same time the great difficulty of admeasuring the dose, so that the effect desired should be obtained, and not either missed or overstepped. In female patients I frequently observed sickness produced even by small doses, and in nearly all cases the inconvenience of the well-known astringent action upon the intestines. These and other considerations led me to look about for a more convenient mode of producing the effects of morphia

times its weight of at least indifferent (possibly injurious) matters. At all events, a person who requires the benefit of a grain of opium must, if he wants to get it in the popularly best-known form of *thériaque*, swallow, besides his grain of active material, seventy-nine grains of a mixture of selected absurdities. If he desires to take the grain of opium in the form of electuary of *diascordum*, he must take ninety-four grains of the mixture. The last of the opiates of the French Codex is the most instructive, for this ("*Opiatum cum copahu compositum*," p. 508 of the Codex of 1866) contains no opium at all, and nothing either derived from or related to opium in any way. In this manner have the magistral opiates, of which opium always was the essential ingredient, become discredited and gone out of use, until now the name of opiates is applied to tooth-powders and tooth-pastes, which in their essential features are not unlike the *thériaque* of the French Pharmacopœia.

without its inconveniences or even dangers. I knew from the experiments of Descharmes and Bénard (*Compt. Rend.* 40, 34) that in opium-smoking a portion of the morphia is volatilised undecomposed, and I therefore experimentalised with the pyrolytic vapours of opium, first upon myself, then upon others; and when I had made myself fully acquainted with the Chinese method of using the drug, I came to the conviction that here one of the most interesting therapeutical problems had been solved in the most ingenious and at the same time in the most safe manner. I held in my hand a power well known and used largely by Eastern races, yet its use neglected, ignored, denounced, and despised by the entire Western world. I therefore studied carefully and cautiously all the evidence which I could procure on the subject, from the few notes of Chinese authors and of travellers in China, to the publications of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and the evidence contained in the voluminous publications of the Parliamentary Committee on the Finances of India. The results of those studies are condensed in the following pages.

Mode of preparing the Extract of Opium.—The British Pharmacopœia gives the following direction for producing extract of opium.

Take of opium in thin slices 1 lb.; distilled water 6 pints. Macerate the opium in 2 pints of the water for 24 hours, and express the liquor. Reduce the residue of the opium to a uniform pulp, macerate it again in 2 pints of the water for 24 hours, and express. Repeat the operation a third time. Mix the liquors, strain through flannel, and evaporate by a water-bath until the extract has acquired a suitable consistence for forming pills.

Extract thus prepared, when diluted with a little water, so as to acquire the consistence of a thick treacle, is very well suited for use on the pipe. Or if the extract is prepared directly for use with the pipe, the evaporation should be arrested after it has assumed the desired concentration.

The smokable extract, as prepared in China, is said to amount to less than half of the bulk of the opium employed

in its production. According to a careful experiment quoted by Lockhart, 1 catty or 16 taels yield of extract 7 taels 8 mace 8 candareens, equal to 49 per cent. of the opium. A chest of Patna, weighing 140 lbs., gives only 70 lbs. of extract. Lockhart (p. 388) erroneously supposes that the insoluble part of the opium contained more than half the narcotic power, and that the Chinese were extravagant in throwing this away. The insoluble part of the opium is almost inert and valueless. In the best sorts of opium the insoluble residue amounts to less than 40 per cent. Schacht gives 40 per cent. as the maximum to be allowed in testing opium for its pharmacutical value. It contains of the bases all the narcotin, and a little morphin. The latter can be extracted by hydrochloric acid.

The French and Austrian Pharmacopœias have identical prescriptions for the production of extract of opium, which differ from the prescription of the British Pharmacopœia by the use of much more water, and the protraction of the period of extraction. The Austrian Pharmacopœia says: Take of opium, cut roughly in slices, 100 grammes; cold distilled water, 800 grammes. Macerate during 48 hours, frequently shaking the mixture; decant the liquid, and press residue. Pour another 400 grammes of cold water on the pressed residue, macerate for 24 hours, decant and press. Mix the liquids, and let them clarify by standing. Filter and evaporate in the water-bath to the consistence of a thick extract. This extract dissolve in ten times its weight of cold distilled water, let the solution stand for 24 hours, then filter and evaporate the clear solution to dryness.

This extract is probably purer for some purposes than the British. The resolution of the first extract may probably be employed with advantage in the case of inferior qualities of opium, the extract from which forms deposits on standing. When opium is extracted with water and a little hydrochloric acid, the residue should not exceed 45 per cent. This is the limit placed by the Austrian Pharmacopœia in the testing for opium (iii. 136).

Mode of smoking Opium, as practised in China.—A person

who is about to smoke reclines on a couch, resting his head on a pillow; with one hand he holds the pipe, with the other he seizes a needle six to seven inches long, and, having dipped its point into the extract of opium, dries the latter over the flame of the little lamp; when it has the consistence required, he fixes it round the hole in the bowl of the opium-pipe by pushing the point of the needle into the hole, holding the opium bead down with two fingers of the other hand, and then withdrawing the needle. The bowl is then held directly over the flame of the lamp, while a deep inspiration, made while the lips are applied to the mouthpiece of the pipe, draws the hot air through the extract, forming the fumes, which now pass into the lungs. The fumes, after being retained for a short time, are allowed to pass away by the mouth and nostrils.

That the person about to smoke reclines on a couch and rests his head on a pillow is a Chinese practice, having its origin in Chinese habits. For to smoke opium comfortably this reclining position is not required: on the contrary, smoking is much more convenient when the smoker sits on an ordinary chair, and has his lamp, etc., on an ordinary table before him. Only if the smoker should desire to repose or sleep after smoking would it be of advantage to him to be already in the reclining position while smoking, because, the effect of ~~the~~ vapour being rapid, he would lose a portion of its most agreeable effect if he had to move about immediately after inhaling it.

Opium-vapour, where considered medicinally useful in China.

—Chinese physicians prescribe the use of the vapours of opium in cases of obstinate ague and rheumatism, and it is admitted by Lockhart (p. 383) that this is useful in alleviating distress and pain for a time, and that it breaks up the periodicity of the ague. No better definition of the effects has been given by this or by any other author, and we may be certain that he has neither witnessed nor endeavoured to ascertain^o by and for himself the nature of the effects admitted to be produced. "Pain and distress of some kind or other" are also given as indicative of the use of opium-vapour.

A case—the only one related by Lockhart (p. 384)—shows

clearly the relief given by opium smoke in ague. Among the patients so-called who were treated in the missionary hospital at Shanghai in 1849 was a young man, the son of an officer at Hang-Chau, and himself a candidate for office. He is represented as having applied only for the purpose of being relieved from the habit of opium-smoking. Nothing is said as to the cause for which the man had smoked or did smoke opium. Only at the end of the "cure" we learn, quite accidentally, that the young man's chief fear in leaving was lest he should be attacked with ague on his return to Hang-Chau, and then he did not know what he should do without the opium-pipe. Quinine medicine was now given to him, and it appears that he had no further call for the opium-pipe. It is not even stated, what we must conclude from the context, namely, that the man had smoked for the relief of ague. And in the description of his low state of health it is entirely omitted to distinguish between the deleterious effects of the opium-vapour and those of the ague. The ague is throughout treated as non-existent, and makes its apparition only in the shadow of a prospective fear. Many persons fly to the use of the pipe when they get into trouble; when they are afflicted with sleeplessness, or with painful diseases, such as malignant or pernicious tumours. Beggars use it to a great extent, consuming the dregs and scrapings of the half-consumed drug, which is removed from the bowl and tube of the pipe when it is cleaned.

How valuable a Chinaman considers these dregs of the pipe may be seen from this occurrence. I asked the price of a pipe of a Chinaman, when he named a rather high figure. On my declining the price, he justified it by saying that the pipe was full of opium. To prove his case he opened the joint and scraped with an iron rod some solid deposit from the dense mass which filled it.

Dr. J. Dudgeon, of Peking, in an article in the *Friend of China* (No. XII. April 1876), says that the Chinese have used opium medicinally for a long time, owing to its astringent and soothing properties, in diarrhœa, dysentery, cough, hæmoptysis,

and other diseases. It is not said that this use was made by means of the pipe. The article is mainly an outpouring against Lord Salisbury, and reiterates, without giving any new information, or any positive information on important points, the well-known objections to opium-smoking. Incidentally only we learn the intolerance of the missionary mind through the statement (p. 348) that "in the native (*i.e.* Chinese) Christian churches no opium-smoker whatever is admitted to church membership."

Dudgeon does not seem to believe that there is any foundation for the assertion that opium (? smoking) produced various skin diseases.

Dr. Ayres, in his report (*The Friend of China*, 1878, p. 217), relates that at the Tung Wah (Chinese) Hospital at Hong-Kong, dreadful and ghastly-looking objects in the last stages of scrofula and phthisis may be seen smoking opium. These had never previously in all their lives been able to afford the expense of a pipe a day. Yet the European visitors of this hospital attribute to the abuse of opium effects which are due solely to the diseases for which the patients are in hospital.

From what Dr. Ayres has seen in this Chinese hospital he has no doubt that the advanced consumptive patient does experience considerable temporary relief to his difficult breathing by smoking a pipe of opium, though it is a very poor quality of drug that is given to patients at the Tung Wah Hospital.

How Missionaries picture the Opium-smoker—Alleged Objection to Medical Use of Opium-vapours.—The patient who uses opium-vapours is alleged to be dependent on opium probably for the rest of his life, although cured of the disorder for which he originally used the vapour. Lockhart, with some kind of caution, inserts the "probably" into the context of the otherwise unqualified and unproved assertion. By others, however, this even is omitted, and the insinuation made absolute.

The pictures which the missionaries give of the opium-smokers is a very sorry one, and I take that of Lockhart (p. 389) as a type. He admits that opium, in the commencement of its

use by smoking, is a pleasant and refreshing stimulant, and gives vigour and tone to the body. But it is followed by a corresponding relaxation and listlessness, which is again removed by a return to the pipe. This stage in the smoker's progress may be prolonged for some years without the health being interfered with; his strength is not impaired, and he can pay attention to business as usual—indeed, the stimulus of the drug enables him to enter with avidity upon any pursuit in which he may be engaged. The smoker continues to use his pipe, thus accustoming himself more and more to dependence on his much-loved indulgence. By-and-by he cannot live comfortably without the stimulant. This Lockhart calls the smoker's retribution; all the pleasure has gone, but he must obtain relief from the pain of body and dissipation of mind which follow the absence of the drug at any cost, the quantity of the drug called for being from time to time greater, and its use more frequent.

Among the symptoms which the opium-smoker is said to exhibit are griping pains in the bowels, pain in the limbs, loss of appetite, so that the smoker can only eat dainty food, disturbed sleep, and general emaciation. The outward appearances are sallowness of the complexion, bloodless cheeks and lips, sunken eyes, with a dark circle round the eyelids, and altogether a haggard countenance. The skin is said to assume a pale waxy appearance, and as if all the fat were removed from beneath the skin. The corners of the eyelids and of the lips, and the roots of the *alæ nasi*, are said to fissure. But in other descriptions the pale waxy appearance of the face makes room for a peculiar dark appearance, as if some dark matter were deposited beneath the skin. On the whole, however, the confirmed opium-smoker, according to these missionary accounts, presents a most melancholy appearance, is haggard and dejected, his eyes lack lustre, and his gait is slovenly and feeble.

The lives of the opium-smokers are said not to last long, but no statistical data have ever been adduced to support this allegation. The higher classes are said to contribute deaths

owing to excess ; the middle and lower classes are said to contribute fatal cases arising from inability to procure the opium, after they have been impoverished.

The account of the missionary continues to describe the enervating effects to be such that the smokers become after a time unable to attend to their ordinary avocations. They then lose their situations, or their business fails, and they are reduced to necessity. Gradually they part with their little property, furniture, clothes, and, those gone, they sell their wives and children. Lastly they beg, smoke the scrapings of other men's pipes, until at last they droop, die by the roadside, and are buried at the expense of the charitable.

Lockhart admits that it is impossible to say what is the number of such victims, either among the higher or lower classes. An American missionary to China, on visiting England about 1860, is reported to have said that "the smokers of the contraband article have increased from eight to fifteen millions, yielding an annual death-harvest of more than a million." This estimate, says Lockhart, has not even the semblance of truth : it is an outrageous exaggeration. Lockhart himself would not even hazard a conjecture as to the "annual death-harvest."

Indulgence in opium is said to blunt the moral sense, to cause good men to waver in virtue, and to make bad men worse. The inevitable example of Coleridge is adduced to support this swoop. According to Lockhart, we must expect the Chinese, whom he terms a lying nation, to lie much more with, than without, opium. The Chinese opium-smokers invariably "deny their having any connection with the drug," so that it is never advisable to ask them any questions about it, lest one should induce them to tell unnecessary untruths. In short, opium-smoking is, according to these missionaries, the parent of numerous evils, even such as are not originally chargeable upon it. Such is the craving for the drug amongst its votaries that fraud, speculation, and theft are resorted to in order to obtain it when it cannot be bought. All the evils usually springing from drunkenness by means of alcohol are to

be met with—so it is said—among opium-smokers, except the uproariousness common to those in a state of liquor.

This description of the opium-smoker given by Lockhart and other missionaries is a copy of the one officially put forth by the Government of China, and illustrated with many water-colour drawings by Chinese artists, which made the round of London exhibitions during some years following the year 1861. The collection was quite a parallel illustration of the Rake's Progress, ending with the sale of wife and child, death by the roadside, and burial at the expense of the charitable.

How little truth there remains of these representations, when the actual state of things in China is examined by unprejudiced scientifically trained persons, is seen from the contents of a report by Dr. Ayres, colonial surgeon at Hong Kong (*The Friend of China*, October 1878, p. 217). No prisoner who "confessed" to be an opium-smoker was allowed a single grain in the gaol. (If those who had not "confessed" were allowed to use, or had given to them any opium, how could this refusal be justified?) No such "confessing" opium-smoker had any stimulant as a substitute, and the sudden breaking off of the opium-smoking had no evil consequences. One of the prisoners had consumed, so it is alleged, two ounces a day for nineteen years. From the day of his entering the prison he was allowed to have neither opium nor gin nor any other narcotic or stimulant. For the first few days he suffered from want of sleep, but soon was in fair health, and expressed himself much pleased at having got rid of the habit. If this man manipulated two ounces of opium a day with the intention of smoking it, he must have wasted enormous masses of material. It is next to impossible to use up such quantities of material by the proceeding called smoking, even with the application of the whole of the time and working power of an entire day.

Dr. Ayres has observed that opium-smoking, though it may become a habit, is not necessarily an increasing one; nine out of twelve men smoke a certain number of pipes a day, just

as a tobacco-smoker would, or as a wine or beer drinker might drink his accustomed quantity a day without desiring more. He thinks that the excessive opium-smoker is in a greater minority than the excessive spirit-drinker or tobacco-smoker. According to his experience the habit, when practised with moderation, causes no physical harm. The man in the gaol above mentioned, who had smoked more opium than any other man of whom Dr. Ayres ever heard, and that during nineteen years, was uncommonly well developed and well nourished.

Dr. James Watson, of Newchwang, in a medical report published by order of the Inspector-General of Customs, China, and quoted in the *Friend of China*, October 1878, p. 218, says that during twelve years he has had under his notice, and occasionally under his treatment, several Chinese writers, a good many compradores and small traders, who have all smoked opium more or less. This did not, in more than 10 per cent., distinctly interfere with their general health. All of them had been smoking opium for many years; but, with the exception of the 10 per cent. referred to, they had not increased the amount which they smoked during these years. They were able to attend to their duties, were healthy and active, and enjoyed a good appetite. So far as Dr. Watson could see, the opium-smoking did no good to the 90 per cent., and, on the other hand, it did not manifestly injure them. Regarding the 10 per cent. who used excess, we learn that they exhibited loss of appetite, constant diarrhœa, impaired physical and mental energy, loss of sexual power, &c. The *et cetera* are not described by Dr. Watson. Nor is it explained why his 10 per cent. had diarrhœa, and that constant, when most other accounts describe constipation as one of the results of the practice of opium-smoking. Dr. Watson thinks that opium, except as a medicine, is never necessary, and that for other purposes (not defined any further) it is seldom, if ever, of any service. But alcohol, he thinks, is only injurious when taken irregularly and in too large quantities; and to the majority of people, who work either with head or hands, is in some shape or other, if

not a necessity, a great comfort, and, as a dietetic agent, of very considerable value. Might not an opium-pipe be a comfort? And is the desire for comfort, or its actual enjoyment, a vice?

Political and Missionary Objections to Opium.—*The Denunciations directed against the British Government* on account of this profitable trade in opium are mostly to this effect—that to be producers of and dealers in opium is derogatory to the dignity of the Crown, and cannot be maintained with honour to it. This has been maintained even by Indian officials of high position. Thus Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence at one time advocated that the Government should at least discourage the production and sale of opium by withholding advances to cultivators, breaking up the godowns, and having no part in the monopoly. He would, however, not suppress the production, but charge opium with a heavy export duty on its passage, that is to say, treat it as the Malwa product is treated. The missionaries, however, want the Government to suppress the cultivation of the poppy in all its territories, and allow none to pass from the independent states.

Denunciations directed against the English People.—An American missionary, in a speech made in England in 1860, is reported to have said: "This traffic is staining the British name in China with the deepest disgrace, as some of the subjects of Great Britain continue to carry on *an armed contraband trade in a destructive poison*, enriching themselves by merchandising that which impoverishes and murders the poor infatuated and besotted Chinese." Of this very missionary Lockhart says that he knew, or ought to have known, that American citizens are fully as much implicated in the opium trade in China as the subjects of Great Britain. On the whole, both English and American houses in China trade in the drug, each to the full extent of their means. This American missionary ought also to have known that the arming of the vessels engaged in the opium traffic is simply for their own protection against the rapacious west-country pirates. The American missionary's story would lead to the conclusion that the opium vessels are

armed for the purpose of resisting the revenue officers of China, than which no idea could be more erroneous.

Whenever American, French, or German missionaries or moralist writers allude to opium, they put themselves into a reproaching attitude against England, of which the arguments and terms are borrowed from the English missionaries. These in their turn get their expressions from the Chinese Government, and what their arguments signify we can better appreciate.

The coasting trade in opium along China is to a large extent carried on by Germans.

The Rev. George Stott (*The Friend of China*, No. XII., p. 358) says: "Opium is one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of the gospel that I have met. The death of one very excellent missionary may, I think, be attributed to opium. I refer to the Rev. M. Mahood, formerly of the Church Mission, Foochow. He visited this city in the early summer of last year, and on his way back to his station had opium-smoking chair-bearers. Mr. Mahood gave them half of their money before starting, but the head coolie cheated them out of a part of it, so that on the way down they had not money enough to buy opium. When they were about two days' journey from this, they laid Mr. Mahood's chair down and ran away. He had much trouble to get other coolies, and was so exposed that he got sunstroke, and died on his way home, near Aden."

From this it is probable, that if the reverend gentleman had carried an opium-pipe and some extract with him, he might have retained the loyalty of his coolies and saved himself the sunstroke. He, or others, might then have said, using a mode of arguing analogous to that contained in the foregoing, that opium was a preventive of sunstroke. Dr. Ayres (*The Friend of China*, 1878, p. 218) records that no China resident believes in the frequency of the dull, sodden-witted, debilitated opium-smokers met with in print. He has not found many Europeans who believe they ever get the better of their opium-smoking compradores in matters of business.

Price of Opium in China compared with the Prices of Necess-

aries and to the Value of Wages.—Lockhart says (p. 386) that the common people and the labouring classes in China could well afford to pay for the opium which they use. He terms it “terribly cheap.” In 1860 the Shanghai price current quoted Patna and Benares, 360 dollars; Malwa, 420 dollars. Taking the average at 400 dollars the chest, and each chest to yield 70 catties of smokable extract, then the price for a mace or drachm of extract would be only 64 cash. It is actually sold in the retail opium shops at 90 cash per mace or drachm. This is only half the wages of a labouring man, and as an equal amount of 90 cash, or the other half of his wages, would buy his food and clothing, it would not be beyond the means of such a person to procure and consume a mace of opium-extract a day.

The mercantile and literary classes in China can afford, and do consume, much more, and some even gratify themselves with a tael. These do not generally go to the retail shops, but buy the opium by the ball, and prepare it themselves, in which case it does not cost them more than 70 cash per mace.

Note on the History of the Opium Trade.—*Statistics of Trade.*—Opium was grown in India and exported to China before the East India Company had anything to do with it. Thus the Malwa opium was grown in the independent state of Malwa, and shipped to China *via* Damaum, a Portuguese port. Since the conquest of Scinde, however, the company compelled all Malwa opium to go by Bombay, in order that the tax might be levied upon it. In Bengal the production of opium was fostered by the company by advances to the cultivators, who were required to bring all their produce in opium to the warehouses or godowns of the company. A monopoly was established which now covers all India. All opium was subjected to an official examination, was packed in balls of prescribed size and weight, and distributed by sales by auction at Calcutta. After these had been established, the East India Company did not itself trade in opium.

In an essay written by a Chinese, and published in English in *The Friend of China* (No. XII. April 1876), it is stated

that opium was mentioned during the reign of Wan-leih (1573-1620), of the Ming dynasty. Leche-chin, a physician, author of the Chinese herbal called *Pen-tsaou*, says: "There is in the western ocean a medicine known as *Yi-litan*. Its nature is to bind. If much of it be taken, death ensues." The author of the Chinese essay says that this referred to opium. The essay, as a whole, is illiterate, and as to data curiously incompetent. Besides the foregoing historical note, I have not been able to gather from it a single point of information.

Opium Trade to different Countries.—The Rev. Dr. Medhurst, aided by Lockhart (see p. 385), drew up and issued a paper on the opium trade, which was subsequently printed in some blue-books (not quoted). The *China Mail* for January 1854 states that the total deliveries of opium in China were 40,000 chests from Bengal and 27,000 from Bombay. But the total export of opium from Bengal was 53,000 chests during the same period, so that 13,000 chests must have been exported to and consumed somewhere out of China. It is supposed that this was done by the nations inhabiting the country between the Ganges in the west and China in the east.

So-called Cure of Opium-smokers.—Lockhart (p. 383) insists on the discontinuance of the opium-pipe altogether, supplying its place by opium and camphor in pills, giving at the same time astringents, as pomegranate skin powder, to check the diarrhoea that is alleged always to follow the abandonment of the pipe.

That diarrhoea does always, or frequently, follow the cessation of the use of opium-smoke is one of those allegations made to terrify those who read and listen. Like most results of fanaticism, it is double-edged, and is used by *habitués* to support their refusal to abandon the habit of opium-eating. For, they say, if we did leave off, we should die from irrepressible diarrhoea. Where is the case that has ever died from such diarrhoea? Where are the cases that have ever been seriously weakened by such diarrhoea? Unless such cases are produced

and proved in detail to be what they are pretended to be, the whole contention must be considered baseless.

Probable Quantity consumed by Smokers.—Lockhart (p. 386) say that Innes, writing on the subject in December 1836, supposed that a tael, or an ounce, a day is a proper allowance for a confirmed opium-smoker. A writer in the *Repository* for October 1837 gives only three candareens, or $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains a day for a moderate smoker. Lockhart believes both estimates to be in error, the first one being excessive, the last one defective. When he inquired of the Chinese at Shanghai, he invariably received the answer that a moderate smoker would use a mace, or a drachm a day, but that many consumed two, three, and five mace a day. He also adduces (p. 387) the testimony of a medical man, who has had much to do with opium-smokers and is well acquainted with the quantities consumed by them, and the effects produced upon their system, to this purport, that if a man uses only a drachm a day, it does his general health little injury. Confirmed smokers, according to the same medical authority, use two, three, to six and even eight mace a day, and the only evil effect which is stated to result from these quantities is that the smokers have pale skins. Mr. T. T. Cooper stated before the India Finance Company (5,460) that a man habituated to opium-smoking would consume an ounce of raw opium a day, and further that between 15 and 20 pipes a day was a large allowance for a man. The generality of men whom he had seen smoking, and smoked with, did not take more than from 6 to 10 pipes a day. An ounce of opium would however be enough for 200 pipes, and the statement concerning the numbers of pipes smoked contradicts therefore the datum as to the opium consumed.

Mr. T. T. Cooper's eight chair-coolies carried him on an average twenty miles a day, and all smoked opium in the evening.

Probable Number of Smokers—Spread of the Habit (in China).—Assuming the proportion of a mace a day, as stated by Lockhart, to be the average amount of consumption, then 67,000 chests of opium delivered in China in 1853 would supply the

wants of about two millions of smokers, or a little more. This is based upon the assumption that each chest of opium yields 70 catties of smokable extract, of which extract (and not of crude opium) each smoker would use one mace or drachm a day.

How many smokers in China are supplied with opium grown in China cannot be estimated.

In California some thousands of chests are used by the immigrated Chinese. The supply mainly comes from Bengal.

The Chinese only smoke the opium, they do not swallow it.

It is said that the late emperor used the drug, reports Lockhart (p. 391). We shall see that he kicked one of his sons to death when the boy had been found smoking opium.

Most Chinese Government officers, and their numerous attendants, smoke opium. Opium is used as a luxury by all classes and to a great extent. In rich families it is considered a mark of politeness to offer a pipe to a friend or visitor.

In a letter by Wm. Muirhead, published in *The Friend of China* (No. XII. April 1876, p. 353), it is stated that the habit of smoking opium is not only widespread in China, but increasing in all directions. It is entering more and more into the social life of the people, forming an indulgence of all ranks and classes of the community. Places of resort for the smoking of opium of an expensive and an attractive kind are multiplying, and "the various departments of business, the enjoyments of friends and acquaintances, the pleasures and amusements of old and young, rich and poor, are becoming connected with the exhilarating and bewitching influence of the opium-pipe." If this description is correct, it upsets all that is said against the practice in the rest of the letter.

Houses for opium-smoking in China are taxed by municipal councils like ordinary houses of entertainment.

The Rev. George Stott, of the China Inland Mission, writes from Wenchow, a city of Cheh-Kiang province, under date September 28, 1875, to *The Friend of China* (No. XII. April 1876, p. 358) that this city contains a population of from two to three hundred thousand, and has about 1,430 opium shops.

Rich or respectable people never go to these places, but smoke their opium at home.

Nature of the Opposition of the Chinese Government (Cooper, T. T., 1871, 5,510).—An edict prohibiting the consumption of opium was published by the grandfather of the emperor (who reigned in 1871). This grandfather killed his youngest son when he had been found smoking opium. (5,527) It is stated that the old man got into great fury when he learned that his son had been smoking, and kicked the poor boy so severely that he died.

The grounds for this opposition are more behind the scenes than is commonly believed. The greatest objection is, no doubt, that annually at least fifteen millions of sterling leave China, for which there is no permanent value imported. The next objection is that the necessity to admit opium into China is a permanent badge of defeats in the various wars of which history knows. These defeats have had another effect, intolerable to an independent state, and no doubt subversive of the essence of the idea of state—namely, that all real or alleged converts to any form of Christianity become extra-territorial subjects, cease to be Chinese, and become English, French or Russians. Thus the consuls and missionaries no doubt undermine the security of the Chinese Government, and well might Prince Kung say to Sir Rutherford Alcock that there were no grounds for differences between England and China, except “missionaries and opium.”

Experimental Study of the active Products of the Process of Opium-smoking.—Descharmes and Bénard (*Compt. Rend.* 40, 84) found that in opium-smoking a portion of the morphia is volatilised, undecomposed. This can be proved by passing the vapours through an absorbing medium, and condensing the solution and applying the well-known tests.

Quantity of Opium or Volatile Alkaloid inhaled.—This can never be accurately stated, as the pyrolytic process varies in effect, with many small variable and accidental conditions.

Effect of Vapour.—The effect of the inhaled vapour is almost instantaneous. It produces a sensation of warmth, and

then of slight contraction over the whole of the pneumogastric region. The stomach is felt to be in motion, the more the fuller it is. These effects presently pass into a sensation of general comfort, any sense of fatigue disappears, evidently on account of the widening of the whole arterial system. At least in all cases which I have observed the pulse at the wrist became much larger and fuller. In cases where pain and uneasiness have caused the pulse to be small and quick, the relaxing effect is best observed. As the effect of the vapour lays hold of the system, any pain is diminished, and with continued smoking, if the pain was severe, extinguished. Of course the patient must be kept quiet, and if possible sent to sleep, as in the case of the application of opium by the mouth, to obtain the best and most lasting effect. If the patient is kept excited by upright position, light, noise, conversation, &c., a certain amount of anæsthesia and euphoria is no doubt also produced, but the sleep-producing effect of opium is reversed, and wakefulness, lasting for many hours, results. In other words, the tonic effects of opium then prevail over the sedative effects—an apparent paradox, but an undeniable fact, which any experimentalist can observe upon himself.

Indications for the Medical Use of Pyrolytic Opium-vapours.

—1. Wherever it is necessary to diminish sensibility, the use of opium and morphia has always been allowed to be indicated. We may say that the pyrolytic vapour of opium is indicated in all cases in which therapeutical experience indicates the use of opium and morphia. This is the case, mainly, in *painful affections*, in which the removal of the pain alone is a great boon, and contributes to the effect of other specific measures and remedies directed against the essence of the disorder.

All Neuralgias, without exception almost, are treated as well by the pyrolytic vapour as any other form. But in most forms the pyrolytic vapour of opium is preferable: (1) because it is more immediate in its action; (2) because it can be gradually increased until the desired, or the necessary effect, is produced; (3) because it produces less sickness and much less constipation

than opium or morphia taken by the mouth or subcutaneously ; (4) because it can probably not be inhaled to any seriously dangerous extent. I have seen the most direct relief in *neuralgias of the head*—hemicrania, violent pains in eyebrows, in eyes, ears, in the nasal cavity, in the throat ; in the chest ; bronchial neuralgia ; intercostal neuralgia ; sciatica of the severest forms ; the cutaneous neuralgias of excitable subjects slightly dyscratic. The pyrolytic vapour acts the less quickly the farther the peccant parts are removed from the brain ; just as morphia does. Lead colic, rheumatic affections, the pains of cancerous tumours, of cicatrices, are all stopped easily and agreeably by the pyrolytic vapour.

Similarly *many Patients suffering from Inflammation* are benefited very much by the pyrolytic opium-vapour. Marvellous is the effect of the vapour upon a *common cold*, so-called cold in the head (*coryza*). The vapour stops the sneezing, the irritation, the secretion from the nose, and the sense of insult to the nervous system, the lacrymation almost instantaneously ; sleep, previously precarious, is sound ; and the cold passes directly from the crude into the ripe or abortive stage.

When the cold in the head is united with one in the chest, the effect of the pyrolytic vapour is equally direct. Irritation, coughing, uneasiness, febrility, cease at once ; the secretion from the lung assumes the thick condition of the stage of resolution. With quiet nights and relatively easy days, the patient retains strength and appetite, and soon recovers. I have known a catarrh of a fortnight's duration in a young woman to be stopped by one inhalation, applied at a period when the irritation was yet great, and cough incessant. Nothing can show better than the direct effect of the pyrolytic opium-vapour how many disorders of the respiratory passage are the result of mere nerve-irritation, by trifling causes, which, being calmed, give the opportunity for immediate recovery.

In pleuritis and pneumonia, in peritonitis, cystitis, in orchitis, in carbuncle, and a number of other painful inflammations, I should directly use the opium-pipe.

The most direct and useful effects are produced by the

pyrolytic vapour in *spasmodic and convulsive affections of the nervous system or its parts*.

Laryngeal Cough or Hyperæsthesia of the Larynx (which, in a case well known to me, led the sufferer, a member of our profession, to the mechanical result of two inguinal ruptures) is immediately stopped by the vapour. *Sneezing* of the spasmodic variety the same. *Nervous or neuralgic asthma* is prevented or arrested by the vapour better than by any other means. The pseudo-asthmatic attacks of patients afflicted with *chronic emphysema* are eased or stopped more immediately by the pyrolytic vapour than even by chloroform or ether, and much quicker than by the other opiates which these patients, such as I know them, always take. Even the spasmodic attacks of asthmatic breathing, affecting patients with kidney disease (albuminuria), at night are eased or prevented by the use of the pipe, as I know from a member of our profession thus afflicted.

In *Gastralgia*, and in the severe affection of a *gastric neuralgia*, which seems to centre in or around the cardiac ganglion (I have seen attacks in men who were almost in collapse, bathed in sweat, pulse almost imperceptible; one hand or both on the pit of the stomach; duration, from half an hour to one hour), in the same affection coupled with *hemidopsia* (a most curious and rare affection of the brain, of short duration, in which the patients see, with either eye, only one half of the object they are contemplating, such as half the face of a person across the street, but not the other half), the pyrolytic opium-vapour gives instant relief.

The opium-vapour is highly efficacious in toning down excitement or excitability of the spinal marrow. Thus I found it stop the not rarely distressing excitement of the spine (termed popularly fidgets) which follows strong physical exertion, walking, riding, hunting. In all cases of excessive fatigue from physical exertion, including the labour of parturition, the pyrolytic vapours are procurers of immediate repose, and conditioners of quicker recovery.

Excitement of the Brain is abated by the vapours better

than by other products of the poppy. Idiopathic nervous sleeplessness is counteracted at once, and can be counteracted repeatedly during the same night. Agrypnia, occurring in acute and chronic diseases, is also successfully stopped by the pyrolytic vapour. This is the experience of others, patients of mine. Upon myself the vapour has either no or very little hypnotic action, except after strong exercise. It seems to me now and then to produce, on the contrary, wakefulness, but this accompanied with a sense of euphoria, a waking repose of an agreeable nature, not accompanied with tossing about or turning from side to side. I have used the pyrolytic vapour in *bronchitis* of a severe type with perfect success. I may allude to the case of a lady who became the subject of bronchitis of a severe type, and consented to rely upon the pyrolytic vapour, with deliberate conviction and experimental scientific truthfulness, but without enthusiasm such as leads to error and exaggeration. On the fourth day of my attendance pneumonia threatened, the backs of both lungs were dull and without murmur; fever, heat; quick, thin pulse; posterior nares, entire pharynx, and probably windpipes covered with a yellowish-green exudation; ammoniac chloride and potassic iodide were given; matters changed, while the pyrolytic vapour was incessantly continued to stop cough and pains in spine and sciatic nerve and its branches. Three weeks of this treatment restored her with strength almost unimpaired, and the suffering during the illness reduced to a very small amount.

In *Pulmonary Consumption* the inhalations are of great value by allaying the ceaseless irritation, preventing emphysema, bronchiectasis, and producing sleep. When diarrhoea begins to complicate the course of disease, the pyrolytic vapours act in a milder manner in restraining it than opiates by the mouth. The use of the vapour puts a consumptive patient in a northern climate not only on an equal footing with a patient who resides in a warm climate, but it gives him the advantage to this effect, that while he is equally free from the fatiguing and useless cough, he fevers less than the patient in the warm climate, and therefore lives longer. Most conspicuous is the effect of the

pyrolytic vapours in those forms of *hæmorrhage from the lungs* in which there is great excitement and irritation to cough. This experience is so well established in China that it has been reported in a late number of the *Family Herald*. I have never seen a case of spitting of blood in which morphia was not given. The essence of the treatment is therefore as old in this case as in most of the other instances related; it is *the form* which is new to Europeans, and which alone is submitted to the scientific consideration of the reader.

APPENDIX V.

Dr. Ayres, Colonial Surgeon, Hong Kong, 1877 ; see *Friend of China*, vol. iii., page 217 :—

“ As regards opium-smoking, no prisoner who confessed to be an opium-smoker has been allowed a single grain in the gaol. Neither has he had any stimulant as a substitute, and I do not find there has been any evil consequence in breaking off this habit at once, nor that any precaution has been necessary, further than a closer attention to the general health. Several very good specimens of opium-smokers have come under observation ; one was the case of a man whose daily consumption had been two ounces a day for nineteen years, and who was allowed neither opium or gin, nor was he given any narcotic or stimulant. For the first few days he suffered from want of sleep, but soon was in fair health, and expressed himself much pleased at having got rid of the habit. I am no advocate for opium-smoking. My experience of it is that it may become a habit, but that that habit is not necessarily an increasing one ; nine out of twelve men smoke a certain number of pipes a day, just as a tobacco-smoker would, or as a wine or beer drinker might drink his two or three glasses a day without desiring more. I think the excessive opium-smoker is in a greater minority than the excessive

spirit-drinker or tobacco-smoker. In my experience, the habit does no physical harm in moderation. In the greatest case of excess just mentioned at the gaol, a better-nourished or developed man for his size it would be difficult to see. With the morality of the opium-smoking question I have nothing to do; no doubt it is a costly luxury, and when indulged in even to a small extent by a poor man, by no means increases the comfort of his family; but as far as my experience goes, and I have had good opportunities of judging, there is no great difficulty in breaking off the habit. I have seen many cases of excessive smoking in men who could afford to spend large sums on the vice. At the Tung Wah Hospital the stranger may at any time see the most dreadful and ghastly-looking objects in the last stages of scrofula and phthisis smoking opium, who had never previously in all their lives been able to afford the expense of a pipe a day, yet the European visitor leaves the establishment attributing to the abuse of opium effects which further inquiry would have satisfied him were due to the diseases for which the patients were in hospital. From what I have seen there, there is no doubt that the advanced consumptive patient does experience considerable temporary relief to his difficult breathing by smoking a pipe of opium, though it is a very poor quality of drug that is given to patients at the Tung Wah Hospital. I do not wish to defend the practice of opium-smoking, but in the face of the rash opinions and exaggerated statements in respect of this vice, it is only right to record that no China resident believes in the terrible frequency of the dull, soddenn-witted, debilitated opium-smoker met with in print, nor have I found many Europeans who believe they ever get the better of their opium-smoking compradores in matters of business. I have conducted my observations with much interest, as the effects of opium-eating were well-known to me by my many years' experience in India, and I have been surprised to find the opium-smoker differs so much from the opium-eater. I

am inclined to the belief that in the popular mind the two have got confused together. Opium-smoking bears no comparison with opium-eating. The latter is a terrible vice most difficult to cure, and showing rapidly very marked constitutional effects in the consumer.”

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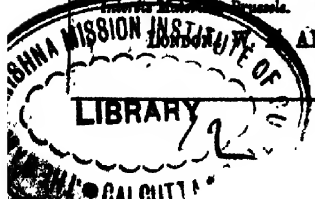
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